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EDITORIAL

FOR LABOR: A NEWER DEAL

A new phase of the 1988 presidential campaign begins after Labor Day, when holdout candidates announce their bids, party leaders make their choices and various constituencies fall in behind their favorites. Pressure is building for organized labor—still the biggest of the institutionalized interest groups—to pick a winner and make an endorsement a.s.a.p., so as to insure a place at the table when the spoils of victory are distributed. That was the strategy four years ago, when the leadership of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. pledged its fealty to Walter Mondale against all others. Alas, the table was bare and the victory was spoiled. Labor would compound the mistake by making it again this time.

Organized labor's bargain with the New Deal, made a half-century ago, assured workers the rights and benefits of unionization in return for support of the Democratic Party's national candidates. Explicit class politics was exchanged for the implicit politics of conciliation. There would be no Labor Party in America.

When the going was good, labor's legitimate demands were met and the alliance prospered. But now times are bad. Deindustrialization, the changing structure of the American economy, the sharp decline in union membership and class polarization in the Reagan years have diluted the claims of traditional unions for power in the party. Once in office, Democratic politicians take for granted the workers whose votes and dollars helped elect them. What labor deserves is a better bargain and a newer deal. It has a right to demand a real redistribution of corporate privilege and a voice in economic decisions that affect everyone's life: from factory flight to fiscal policy. It can press those issues more effectively by holding its cards rather than playing them, and by asserting its independence until it is sure of the stakes.

COVERT LOOPHOLE
I.F. Stone

SANDINISTA STING
Martin A. Lee

PURGING THE TEAMSTERS
Jane Connolly

A LABOR HISTORIAN'S HISTORIAN
Michael Kazin

'OLD BLUE' SPIES
Jon Wiener

SCANDALOUS SELLARS
Moira Hodgson

K.A.L. 007

QUESTIONS THAT WON'T GO AWAY

We published David Pearson's "K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions" [August 17/24, 1985] near the second anniversary of the downing of the Korean Air Lines flight by Soviet defense forces. Despite the spate of books that have appeared since then, many of the questions Pearson raised have not been answered.

*Yet in those two years something has changed. When Flight 007 plunged into the Sea of Japan four years ago, many Americans refused to believe that their leaders were capable of cynical deception. But the Iran/*contra *hearings have given us an education in covert operations and the need to know. Can it be that the story of Flight 007 is the ultimate case study in what Rear Adm. John Poindexter calls "plausible deniability"?*

The record of Pearson's continuing search for answers will be published by Summit Books. This excerpt is his account of the only known expert attempt to analyze taped conversations among air traffic controllers in Anchorage, which could shed new light on whether U.S. personnel knew about the plane's deviation from course in time to warn its crew. We endorse Pearson's call for Congress to do what it has so far declined to: conduct a full and fair investigation of the downing of Flight 007.

DAVID PEARSON

Lawrence Porter is an independent air crash investigator specializing in air traffic procedures, including enhancement and analysis of voice tapes and radar computer data. He spent four years in the U.S. Air Defense Command,

(*Continued on Page 196*)

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LETTERS.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR FLINT

Brighton, Mich.

I was pleased to see Michael Moore's article, "In Flint, Tough Times Last," in the June 6 *Nation*. Progressives need to take seriously the way that industrial action dislocates cities and challenges even the least reactionary governments.

Unfortunately, the article is filled with inaccuracies. (For the record, I have no position on the Moore–*Mother Jones* dispute; I do not now and never have read that magazine.) Worse still, the inaccuracies lead to the view that Flint's auto workers were walloped by the 1979-81 recession and General Motors' recent moves to, as the headline's kicker put it, "pull out."

The reality is different, perhaps worse, and is certainly instructive of a different lesson. Moore wrote that since "five years ago. . . . not a single new auto job has been created" in Flint by G.M. Not so: G.M. employment in Flint rose from 55,400 in 1982 to 62,600 in 1986. (It was 76,900 in 1978, a level surpassed only in 1955 when it was 82,200.) Moore wrote that "by the end of this year" the figure will be 48,000. Not likely.

Moore wrote that in the 1970s, G.M. had decided that "Buick engines would no longer be built in Flint" but in Mexico. I don't know what the company decided, but all engines for Buick cars sold in the United States and Canada come from Tonawanda, New York; Lansing, Michigan; or Flint.

Moore also wrote that "close to 250,000 G.M. employees had permanently lost their jobs by 1984." Not true. From peak (1978) to the lowest monthly figure in 1984, the figure for G.M. hourly jobs lost in the United States was 117,000, a drop of 25 percent. The decline during the same period was 39 percent for Ford and 41 percent for Chrysler. That's one reason why Ford and Chrysler now make roughly three times more profit per car than G.M. The facts tell a different story, a story of a Flint that did in fact enjoy a cyclical recovery, only to run smack into a five-year (1987-91, not 1982-87) G.M. plan to reduce sharply its Flint operations.

The real story, the one that's about to play itself out, is about G.M.'s decision to listen to Wall Street demands for more profits (G.M. earned 2.9 percent on sales in 1986) by accepting a lower market share and making fewer of its own parts. It's about how the publicly subsidized investment here by Japanese auto parts firms is leading all the U.S. auto makers to "outsource" more components from unionized frost belt shops. It's about how, having accepted the "need" to shrink, G.M. decided to shrink in the places with the largest minority populations, the strongest local unions and the most uppity workers: Flint, Pontiac, Detroit. (Ford and Chrysler have already done the same thing, but under the cover of the last recession.)

Progressives here in the Midwest fear more of the same: Will G.M. shut more parts plants? (So far, most of the announced closings are of assembly and stamping plants.) Will Chrysler, having gobbled up American Motors, pull out of Toledo? Will the spinoff of its parts division lead to shutdowns in Detroit and Indianapolis, where it operates ailing facilities? What are Ford's plans for its huge Dearborn River Rouge complex?

Instead of merely berating industrial cities' corporate, civic and union elites for their failures and compromises in the face of those threats, I, for one, could use a tad less oppositionism and a lot more political ideas. How should unions, local governments and locally rooted foundations deal with corporate plans to shrink and hollow out? Do we have anything to say about how society manages excess industrial capacity?

Like many others on the left, I have some less-than-satisfying and no doubt half-baked notions about union-community alliances, public exercise (per Staughton Lynd) of eminent domain, managed trade and foreign investment, plant closing legislation and the agitation required to win it, "running-the-plant-backward" syndicalist tactics and even (though I cringe a little) worker ownership.

I look to *The Nation*, and particularly to industrially rooted writers when they publish in it, to advance my thinking and to arm me with facts to advance it myself. I feel cheated on both counts. *Dan Luria*

MOORE REPLIES

Davison, Mich.

Dan Luria admits that there were 76,900 G.M. jobs in Flint in 1978, and only 62,600 left in 1986. By my math, that means no new jobs were created and 14,300 were eliminated. Since Luria wrote his letter, G.M. has announced additional layoffs in Flint, bringing this year's official employee total in Flint down to 49,000. My prediction of 48,000 was actually too generous, as I am now convinced that it will be much lower.

G.M. stopped building Buick engines in Flint in 1978 and opened its Juarez, Mexico, Buick engine plant that same year. Later, G.M. was caught building Buicks with Pontiac engines and decided to make a generic engine that could be placed in any G.M. car. Some of those engines are made in Flint.

My article should have said that 207,700 United Auto Workers members had lost their jobs by 1984, not close to 250,000 G.M. workers. Luria's apologetic comment that G.M. has decreased its work force by a smaller percentage than Ford or Chrysler is misleading. By 1984, while G.M. had laid off a net of 117,000 hourly workers, Ford had laid off 82,000 and Chrysler had added 21,000.

So why this letter from an admitted "progressive" who claims to share many of my concerns? Luria fails to mention that he works as a consultant to G.M. at the Industrial Technology Institute in Ann Arbor. He used to work for the U.A.W., but, like many liberals, apparently felt the grass was a little greener on the other side. Sure, Luria writes all the politically correct things about G.M.'s abandonment of Michigan's black, unionized cities. But this jargon masks the purpose of his letter: to discredit the charges I made against G.M. and the Michigan political establishment which Luria must now please. He states that what we need is a "tad less oppositionism." He and his former buddies at the U.A.W. headquarters are experts in that. Their 1982 concessions to G.M. allowed the corporation to post record profits, buy Hughes Aircraft and Electronic Data Systems and build new factories overseas. Now Luria lives off the largesse while my friends in Flint prepare to pack their bags in search of work elsewhere. We don't need less oppositionism, we need more, lots more, and less help from liberals like Luria. I'm sorry he has never read *Mother Jones*. He'd like it.

Michael Moore

THE LITTLE KING

Washington

What is Stanley Reed doing writing—and *The Nation* publishing—press releases for the regime of King Hussein of Jordan [editorial, "Hussein's Game," June 20]? The plucky little King has been propped up by Washington since 1957, and by Whitehall before that. He routinely gets good press in America, so he hardly needs this puffery in *The Nation*'s pages. Where does Reed mention that this "master politician" has been presiding over a martial law regime for most of the past three decades, where political parties are banned and dissidents routinely incarcerated? It is not too surprising that the Palestine Liberation Organization is seen as nothing but an opportunistic Soviet client from the King's royal compound. We have come to expect this level of political analysis on the editorial pages of *The New York Times*. But why *The Nation*? *Joe Stork*
Editor, Middle East Report

REED REPLIES

New York City

I see little reason for Joe Stork's outrage. My assignment was to write a brief assessment of Hussein's strategy, and so of course I conveyed Jordanian views. That hardly makes the piece a press release for Hussein. In fact, I wrote that, in my judgment, Hussein's efforts to increase Jordanian influence in the West Bank were failing. I also reported the suspicion of some observers in Amman that Hussein was cynically banking on the failure of his campaign for an international peace

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EDITORIALS.

Black Labor Power

The strike of black miners in South Africa's gold reefs and coalfields represents the strongest challenge to the white minority government this year, and it marks a milestone in the development of black labor as an engine of change in the last bastion of colonialism on the continent. Only five years ago the National Union of Mineworkers (N.U.M.) was founded "from nothing," a leading labor organizer said last week, in an industry that more than any other supports the luxurious standard of living of whites—and brutally extracts dangerous work from more than 550,000 shamelessly underpaid blacks. In that short time, organization and discipline have succeeded in the face of severe state repression in producing the biggest and one of the longest industrial strikes in the country's history. Whatever else may happen, the union has already won a major victory by showing its strength.

The N.U.M. is asking for a "living wage"—which the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has declared a basic need for all its members. The government and the mine owners, of course, say the workers are happy and well treated. But gold miners now commonly start at 238 rand a month, or about $117. Coal miners get even less. Most of them come to the mines from distant rural areas or sham "homelands" and live away from their wives and families for eleven months of the year in grim

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hostels, in a kind of indentured servitude that is part of the structure of apartheid.

From the start the strike has been a sincere and principled struggle for decent wages and a massive assault on the political system that determines the conditions of work and the privileges of race in South Africa. The miners want to live in a society where black people can get a living wage, but that is logically impossible in the way Afrikaners' power is now organized. The mining houses have tried to delegitimize the strike by calling it "political" while the state has tried to limit the conflict to an "industrial dispute," but in fact the two aspects of the action are inextricable. And so it will be resolved, sooner or later, with both economic and political deals affecting all sides. No one believes that the miners' strike will bring down the government. But everyone knows that the power equation in South Africa has already been significantly altered.

The miners are now in the front line of the larger struggle in South Africa. In the past year, the state has succeeded in destroying much of the democratic opposition to its rule. Leaders of the United Democratic Front and allied community organizations are in detention or hiding. COSATU has been bombed out of its headquarters in Johannesburg and several N.U.M. offices have been burned in other cities.

Meanwhile, the miners are in dire need of support and material assistance. The Reagan Administration has been giving funds to politically O.K. labor groups around the world: Solidarity in Poland got a million dollars—and repaid the favor by stealing arms to send to the Nicaraguan *contras*. COSATU member organizations have wisely and courageously declared they will not accept U.S. government contributions, but individuals and unions can help. On this Labor Day holiday in America, there will be few causes more worthwhile in the world. Readers may contact the South African Miners Aid Fund, in care of the United Mineworkers of America, 900 Fifteenth Street N.W., Washington, DC 20005.

Covert Loophole

One evil uncovered by the Iran/*contra* Congressional select committee hearings was the "privatization" of U.S. foreign policy by farming out covert projects to outside entrepreneurs and organizations. But an obscure provision in a Reagan order of March 31, supposedly to reform covert activities, actually gives explicit authorization, for the first time, to such privatization.

The order was billed as an implementation of a Tower commission recommendation. But in fact it seizes upon a narrow loophole in the Tower commission report to institutionalize a practice on which the board itself frowned: The report said that the use of outsiders might be helpful "in some unique cases" but warned that private intermediators may obtain leverage "for return favors or even blackmail."

The report suggested that before enlisting outsiders, the need for them should be investigated. "The U.S.," it said, "has enormous resources invested in agencies and departments in order to conduct the government's business. In all but a very few cases, these can perform the functions needed. If not, [we ought] to find out why."

But this misreads the motives behind the Iran/*contra* affair. The various intelligence agencies of the armed services, civilian departments and the Central Intelligence Agency are awash with agents trained for covert activities, though their total number and cost have never been revealed. It was not lack of undercover operatives that led Rear Adm. John Poindexter and Lieut. Col. Oliver North to utilize outsiders and generate "residuals" in the arms-for-hostages deals. It was a desire to evade all legal supervision.

The Tower commission report offered a loophole for a repetition of such practices when it cautioned against privatization "except in very limited ways and under close observation and supervision." This was quickly seized upon by the White House in its March 31 directive. That says, "The use of private individuals and organizations as intermediaries to conduct covert activities will be appropriately limited and subject in every case to close observation and supervision by appropriate Executive departments and agencies."

What had been done before only surreptitiously is thus now given the kind of presidential authority North wanted and Poindexter dared not ask for aloud in the Oval Office, lest it link the President with "high crimes and misdemeanors."

In the new executive order, this provision follows immediately upon another which promises that the "NSC staff itself will not undertake the conduct of covert activities." This made headlines. But the little-noticed privatization paragraph that follows would authorize a future national security adviser to organize another Iran/*contra*-style deal through outsiders under pressure from a headstrong President. So long as a Poindexter did not utilize a staff member like North, at least openly, he could plead executive authority against an indictment.

The language of this new authorizing provision is partly borrowed from the Tower board but has new ambiguities added. What does "appropriately limited" mean, if anything? And which would be the departments or agencies considered "appropriate" to exercise "close observation"?

The most notorious example of privatization came to light a decade ago in the Senate's investigation of C.I.A. abuses, which was chaired by the late Senator Frank Church of Idaho. The senators found that Cosa Nostra gangsters from Chicago had been enlisted in a C.I.A. plot to assassinate Fidel Castro. Would it have been thought appropriate to have such outsider patriots shadowed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or their expense accounts audited by the General Accounting Office? How much supervision and observation would have been thought appropriate to that enterprise in assassination? Not much, one may be sure.

Assassination plots against foreign rulers have been made illegal by statute in the wake of the Church committee revelations. But does not this Reagan "reform" leave the door open to other shameful abuses of law in the future? Is not everything but assassination left once again to the discretion

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of the President or—on a wink from the Oval Office—to his national security adviser?

Perhaps as a result of private complaints from Congressional sources, some safeguards were added in new guidelines on covert operations offered August 7 by the President's letter to David Boren, chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee. In it, Reagan promised that "all applicable procedures" for presidential findings and "notification to Congress" will also apply to outsiders enlisted in covert activities. But a new loophole has been added: "in all but the most exceptional circumstances." This is as wide as a future President cares to make it. What could be more exceptional than the Iran hostage crisis and the Boland amendment? We are back where we started. These toothless safeguards are intended to forestall new statutory restrictions.

All this effort to reconcile illegalities with law—whether by officials or mercenaries—is like trying to square a circle. You cannot have accountability if you have secrecy. You cannot have secrecy without lying. To institutionalize dirty tricks, as we have done since 1947, is to nurture a cancer in the bowels of constitutional government. I.F. STONE

The Jim Wright Shuffle

The Jim Wright Shuffle was choreographed in advance. In early August, before the President Reagan/Speaker Wright peace plan for Central America became public, the Speaker conferred with Guido Fernández, Costa Rica's Ambassador to the United States. Fernández wanted to know what Wright would do if the Central Americans could agree on their own plan. Wright indicated he would endorse it.

On August 4 the Reagan-Wright proposal was made public. Administration policy-makers, imperially complacent, assumed the natives could not and would not act independently. But on August 7 the presidents of five Central American nations met in Guatemala and agreed on their own peace plan. Wright then lived up to his pledge by jettisoning his and the White House's plan in favor of the Central American one. The Administration was forced to follow suit to avoid giving the embarrassingly accurate impression that it opposes a negotiated settlement. Wright's two-step gave peace a chance.

Wright's maneuvering also helped the Reagan Administration out of a jam by erecting a facade of bipartisanship around the divisive Reagan policy. The fate of the Central American peace plan now depends on whether Wright and other Democrats have a strategy for influencing events in Central America. They certainly have the opportunity.

The Administration, in its support for the *contras*, is negotiating from a position of weakness. As killers of children and pregnant women, the *contras* are rather effective, but as an instrument of political pressure, they are a flop. An unpublicized Pentagon report, released in August 1986, noted dryly, "The sustaining rationale for an insurgency generally must go beyond narrow self-interest in order to inspire support, locally or internationally." The *contras*, the report concluded, "may face extinction."

The predictable failure of the *contra* offensive of 1986 translated into political weakness for the Administration. Of course, the 1986 Congressional elections and the Iran-*contra* scandal have hindered Reagan, but domestic political problems had been finessed in the past. The Sandinista army—well equipped by the Russians, well trained by the Cubans and well motivated by the regime—was a more serious obstacle to the Administration's ambitions.

If the *contras* had gained ground on the Sandinistas in the spring, the pliant majorities in the House and Senate that approved *contra* aid in 1986 might have endured. Instead, they have fallen apart, and not even Lieut. Col. Oliver North can put them together again. According to Representative David Bonior, a leading anti-*contra* strategist, the Administration in mid-August was still about seventeen votes shy of winning *contra* aid from the House.

The Administration's strategic weakness also strengthened the hand of President Oscar Arias Sánchez of Costa Rica. The United States' closest Central American allies, El Salvador and Honduras, are losing confidence in Washington's ability to impose its will on the region. Arias's peace plan, first offered last winter, provided them an alternative to deeper U.S. intervention. The treaty signed in Guatemala on August 7 was a variation of the Arias plan, one that included concessions to Managua.

The Soviet Union and Cuba evidently believe their interests in Nicaragua are now safe enough to enable the Sandinistas to cut a deal with the *Yanquis*. Latin America expert William LeoGrande thinks that Cuban-Nicaraguan relations cooled in early 1986 because the Cubans wanted the Sandinistas to be more forthcoming in regional diplomacy. The Russians refused to increase Nicaragua's oil allotment earlier this year, and a top foreign policy adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev has endorsed the initiative of the Central American presidents.

The question is, Do Wright and the other Congressional Democrats have the will and the strategy to exploit the Administration's weakness and to promote peace? Unlike his predecessor, Tip O'Neill, Wright does not care deeply about the *contra* issue. The Speaker prefers to save his troops for other battles—most important, passing a tax increase.

At least initially, Wright did provide the Sandinistas with

(*Continued on Page 200*)

COMING UP

Daniel P. Sheehan's response to Jonathan Kwitny

John W. Dower on Japan and the United States

Linda Gordon on reproductive technology

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

The Sayer and His Sooth

Bangkok

"You will find Bangkok much changed," my mother remarked as I apprised her that I was about to visit Thailand (properly, Siam*) for a few days, and because she stayed in Bangkok in 1933, I had no doubt that her instincts were correct. She traveled up-country to what is now called the Golden Triangle, ate something bad at a local inn and nearly died. I was thinking of making the same outing but was put off by my horoscope in the *Bangkok Post*: "Beware certain accident risks if on the roads," advised the astrologer, which seemed conclusive. The overview of my immediate prospects had an Oblomovian ring: "You long for change, but you won't accomplish anything of great importance. You must carry on the way you are—at any rate till the New Year of 1988."

Dreams of the Great Satan

Lurking in Bangkok and, as per the astrologer's prediction, not accomplishing anything of great importance, I gave close study to the world's press and noted with interest that Adnan Khashoggi was hotly denying to European news agencies and newspapers that he ever asserted that the United States had planned to assassinate the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. He also maintained that he never said Egypt had initially been involved in making the contacts leading to the U.S. arms sales to Iran.

Khashoggi issued these denials on August 15, and three days later the *International Herald Tribune* printed a letter from the Saudi arms dealer to the same effect: "What prompted the Kuwait paper As-Seyassah to attribute to me the remarks published in the International Herald Tribune is beyond my comprehension. I neither said nor implied that the United States or others ever planned to assassinate Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini." Khashoggi also disputed reports of an Egyptian connection, adding rather sententiously that he himself had lost more than $10 million and that "if those who have had less experience in such matters had heeded my advice, the story would have had a happier ending."

Turning to such U.S. newspapers as were available, I was surprised to find no mention at all of Khashoggi's original allegations or of his subsequent *démenti*. Khashoggi first made the charges on August 12, in an interview with *As-Seyassah* and the *Arab Times*. These charges, at least concerning assassination, are fairly sensational, certainly sufficiently so to warrant some recognition in the U.S. domestic press. But in New York my *Nation* colleague Ken Silverstein has been unable to find any trace of the story.

In the course of his researches he called up an editor on the Associated Press foreign desk, who told him that the Arab press was far too wild to warrant A.P.'s tracking down the veracity of such stories, an observation that makes one wonder why the U.S. press ever took up the *Al-Shira'a* disclosures of last November. Edward Said, who was in Europe while Khashoggi was trying to climb down out of the tree, told Silverstein that *As-Seyassah* is reasonably reliable. Said's view is that Khashoggi withdrew his remarks under pressure from the Saudis, who do not wish to see the arms package destined for the kingdom (at least as an interim entrepôt) endangered by loose talk of such unwholesome matters as assassination attempts.

As I remarked here three weeks ago, suggestions—downright allegations, even—that the Reagan Administration has pondered, attempted or successfully carried out the assassination of Fidel Castro, Muammar el-Qaddafi and Omar Torrijos (in ascending order of actual achievement) have all, with the partial exception of Qaddafi, received almost no scrutiny in the U.S. press.

The Sheep Snuffers

Those interested in C.I.A. assassinations should take a look at *Spycatcher*, the book by former M.I.5 officer Peter Wright which is now banned in England but available in the United States. Wright says that in the tense period before the Suez invasion of 1956, the British secret service M.I.6 had considered killing Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser with nerve gas. Wright, who took the traditional view that his country's true enemies were every British security service other than his own, says that M.I.6 predictably made a hash of things and Nasser rounded up the squad of would-be 007s before any damage could be done.

Wright recalls that on a visit to the United States in the early 1960s he was quizzed by James Angleton, head of C.I.A. counterintelligence, and Bill Harvey, a C.I.A. officer, on assassination techniques. Wright says he told them Britain was out of that game (which may or may not have been true) and that they should try the French. At this point the C.I.A. was laying plans to kill Castro. The only thing wrong with Wright's account is its implication that the C.I.A. was up to then untried in the ways of political killing. Forgotten are the very specific claims that in 1955 the C.I.A. blew up a plane that, but for a sudden change in his plans, would have been carrying Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai [see "Beat the Devil," May 12, 1984]. Wright, incidentally, described to Angleton and Harvey how he traveled to Porton Down, Britain's chemical and biological warfare research station, and watched as a man in a white coat executed a sheep with a poison dart fired out of a cigarette packet.

Pipedream of Peril

The Bangkok astrologer was on to something. Resting safely in the Thai capital, I met an English friend of mine who had gone on a trip to the northeast, round about the time that soothsayers were urging some of us to stay off the

* "Thailand" is a mongrel term introduced in 1939 by the right-wing nationalist Luang Phibunsongkhram. Before he was evicted in the 1947 coup the progressive Prime Minister Pridi Phanomyong had restored the country's traditional name, thus stressing the rights of the minorities as well as of the ethnic Thai.

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

roads. Reckless of such counsel, he had gone to a hill tribe village, hung out with the local fast crowd and woken up the next morning in an intensive-care unit with an i.v. strapped to his wrist, three tubes down his throat and a throng of doctors peering at his supine form. It turned out on interrogation that he had consumed eleven pipes of opium, after which his newfound friends noticed his torpid demeanor and rushed him down the road to the hospital.

As soon as the stars said it was O.K. to go out of doors I went up to Ayudhya, the old Siamese capital wiped out by the Burmese in 1767. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers marveled at the extensive beauties and high civilization of Ayudhya. All seemed well and the dynasty founded by U Thong reposed in the confidence that "shield defense" would stand them in good stead against marauding Burmese, the shield in question comprising the Chao Phraya, Lop Buri and Pa Sak rivers which, with the assistance of one extra canal, entirely surrounded the great city and its glittering temples. Royal elephants, those precursors of the Iowa class of battleship resurrected by the Reagan Administration, trumpeted vainglorious defiance at the advancing Burmese hordes, but it was no use. After a siege of fourteen months the Burmese broke through and burned Ayudhya to the ground. Today it looks as Washington—a markedly inferior expression of civilization to be sure—might look if all that remained of it were ruins of its sacred architecture: the Treasury building, F.B.I. headquarters, the West Wing of the White House, the base of the Lincoln Memorial and the basements of the Pentagon and of C.I.A. headquarters at Langley.

British Traditions

The suppression of Peter Wright's book in England produced some strong language from one of the two Law Lords who voted to permit its publication. Lord Bridge said that the decision would make Britain a mockery in the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg and that though he had previously been opposed to the notion of a Bill of Rights, this ludicrous act of censorship had induced him to look on such a bill with more favor.

Even as Law Lord Bridge was saying that next stop on from the Wright decision was totalitarian darkness, another chapter in the *Perdition* saga was unfolding. Back in January of this year prominent and ardent pro-Zionist members of Britain's Jewish community successfully pressured London's Royal Court Theatre into canceling Jim Allen's play *Perdition*, which concerns collaboration between the Nazis and certain organizers of the Zionist movement in occupied Europe during World War II. But this effort to suppress the play has had the effect of turning *Perdition* into what one writer for *Private Eye* described as "possibly the most famous play never produced."

Too late the *Jewish Chronicle* lamented that if *Perdition* had simply opened and been ignored, 2,000 people would have seen the play and then it would have sunk from view. Instead, the nation's intelligentsia was plunged into a monthlong argument in the dailies and on television about the historical truth or otherwise of a deal struck between Reszo Kastner, head of the Zionist Rescue Committee in 1944, and Adolf Eichmann. It is the play's proposition that Kastner did not tell Jews being deported that they were going to the gas chambers, in return for which he was allowed to pick 1,684 Jews—relatives, Zionists and those rich enough to pay—and set them on a train to Switzerland.

London's Ithaca Press has just published the play along with historical essays by Akiva Orr and Lenni Brenner, whose *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* is credited as Allen's principal source. Humanities Press International will distribute the book here. Given a chance to read the play, many British reviewers treated it with respect. *The Guardian* said it "honestly and compassionately examines a terrible moment in human history."

Nonetheless, this tale of censorship and its paradoxical consequences does not have a particularly happy ending. Allen and Brenner quote from a letter by Nathan Schwalb, a Zionist official in Switzerland, who wrote to Orthodox rabbi Michael Weissmandel of Slovakia explaining why money could not be sent to bribe Nazis and finance partisans rescuing Jews: "We must do everything so that Eretz Yisrael will become the state of Israel. . . . If we do not sacrifice any blood, by what right shall we merit coming before the bargaining table when they divide nations and land at the war's end?"

Schwalb is now suing Ithaca Press for libel, claiming he never wrote the letter. Weissmandel says, "I do not have the letters—for they remained there [in Slovakia] and were destroyed with everything else." But Weissmandel was a tireless rescue worker, and Holocaust scholars of all persuasions regard him as one of the strongest figures to emerge from the period. That he would invent such a letter is hardly credible. What makes Schwalb's suit more vexed is that he has refused to open his personal papers to researchers.

Never Believe an Expert

One of the most passionate critics of *Perdition* was Martin Gilbert, professor of history at Oxford University, best known here for work on Winston Churchill and supposedly expert knowledge of the Churchill papers. In my column for May 30, writing about the rancid cold war policies of "President" Adlai Stevenson, I referred to an essay by Churchill on what would have happened if Lincoln had won the battle of Gettysburg. People at *The Nation* scratched their heads and said surely I must have meant what would have happened if Lincoln had lost the battle of Gettysburg. I had recalled that Churchill gave the "what if" device a double twist. *The Nation* telephoned Gilbert, who said, yes indeed, Churchill had asked the simple question and not the tricky one. He was wrong of course. David Glixon writes to point out that Churchill's essay "If Lee Had Not Won the Battle of Gettysburg" appeared in J.C. Squire's collection *If, or History Rewritten*, published in 1931.

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN
JEFFERSON MORLEY

■ Miracle in Miami

One of the lingering questions of the Iran/*contra* hearings is, Why did the Congressional select committee members allow Lieut. Col. Oliver North to present his delusions as fact? Consider his testimony on the March 1985 San José Declaration, a document preaching the virtues of democracy and presumably written by the *contras* in a show of political unity. His voice thick with emotion, North likened the statement to "our own Declaration of Independence and our own Constitution." "It was hammered out in compromise and with differing views by men who all sought a common purpose," he said, adding that "it was truly an effort to arrive at an amicable conclusion to a bloody war." He compared its drafters to the "men who gathered in Philadelphia" 200 years ago.

In fact, the declaration was drafted by three men in a Miami hotel room: North and *contra* leaders Adolfo Calero and Arturo Cruz. And the document's raison d'être? "All agreed," North wrote in an April 1985 memorandum to then-national security adviser Robert McFarlane, "that the objective was . . . to convince the U.S. Congress that the opposition was led by reasonable men." Members of the Iran/*contra* committees had that memorandum before questioning North, yet none of them pointed out the discrepancy between it and the colonel's testimony.

■ The Pardon Option

Henry Hyde likes the idea, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak have endorsed it and Patrick Buchanan has weighed in with characteristic nuance, but President Reagan still seems unlikely to pardon Oliver North. No matter how ideologically attractive a pardon may seem to Reagan, not pardoning North may be even more attractive. If North is pardoned, he will recede into the background, and with him will go the only known way to diminish the public's antipathy to the *contras*. If North is prosecuted, his public image will be enhanced, and he will get even more free TV time to plead the *contra* cause. North on trial can do what Reagan loves to do: portray himself as the man eager to battle those in power in Washington. North pardoned is useless.

■ Try, Try Again

Failing to influence Iran by selling it weapons seems to be a bipartisan U.S. tradition. In August 1979, Bruce Laingen, then chargé d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, sent a cable to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance discussing ways of dealing with the Khomeini regime. The cable, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, has a familiar ring:

> In military supply, we are now in position . . . to act in ways that refute [Iran's] suspicions that we have held back on spare parts deliveries for political reasons. More importantly, we can use, more actively than we have to date, what will be a necessarily reduced but still substantial military supply dependence on us for our own interests, including rebuilding a liaison with the military establishment and hopefully preserving its western and essentially moderate political outlook.

Ten weeks later, the U.S. Embassy was stormed; Laingen and fifty-one of the others taken hostage were held for more than fourteen months.

■ Ledeen's P.R. Blitz

Writing on the same day and using the same argument, editorialists at *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal* promoted the sputtering career of Michael Ledeen, the former "terrorism expert" for the National Security Council. *The Journal*'s July 21 editorial criticized the Iran/*contra* committees for dropping Ledeen as a public witness, while *The Post* trilled that "Ledeen is in a unique position to inform Congress about the launching" of the arms-for-hostages deal. Ledeen, though, had already given a deposition to the committees, had told his story to *The New York Times* and had testified before the Tower commission, which gently concluded he was not an entirely trustworthy witness. *The Post*'s call for Ledeen's public testimony was especially curious because in January the newspaper carried "an insider's explanation of how the Iran affair began," written by Ledeen. Ledeen's oily self-promotion must have got the better of Meg Greenfield and Robert Bartley, editorial-page editor of *The Post* and editor of *The Journal*, respectively. Bartley has fallen for Ledeen before. In 1985, after a front-page *Journal* story exposed Ledeen's shady dealings with right-wing Italian intelligence operatives, Bartley ordered one of his lieutenants to write a tendentious and uncorroborated defense of Ledeen. (*The Journal*'s news editors stood by the story.) One *Post* editor says the editorial "was not part of any Michael Ledeen campaign" but declines to say whether Greenfield conferred with Ledeen. Whatever the case, Congress ignored Bartley's and Greenfield's pleas, and Ledeen hastened to Europe on unspecified business.

■ Heflin's the One?

The fate of Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court may well depend on Senator Howell Heflin of Alabama. If Bork opponents are to have a fighting chance on the Senate floor, they need first to get the Senate Judiciary Committee to recommend that Bork's nomination be rejected. One way to do that is to win a straight party-line vote from the committee's Democratic majority. But that means convincing Heflin, one of two Democratic swing votes on the panel. In a biography put out by his office, Heflin boasts of bucking his party for Reagan. The Senator crows that he "won praise from President Reagan for his efforts in saving the proposed . . . 'Star Wars Plan'" by casting the deciding vote on that measure. Furthermore, before Reagan nominated Bork, the White House floated several names for the vacant seat, including Heflin's (he is a former Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court). Will Heflin, flattered by Reagan and knowing that the President might have occasion to nominate again, be able to vote against Bork and, thus, have his name struck from the list?

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ARTICLES.

AN INTERNATION STORY

How the Drug Czar Got Away

InterNation is an international consortium of publications, drawing on a global network of journalists, which will on a regular, simultaneous basis, publish investigative stories on subjects that cross national boundaries. This is the third InterNation article to appear in The Nation *[see "The Heritage Foundation Goes Abroad," June 6, and Kenneth R. Timmerman, "Europe's Arms Pipeline to Iran," July 18/25].*

MARTIN A. LEE

On November 15, 1984, excitement rippled through the Washington headquarters of the Drug Enforcement Administration, with the news that Spanish police had captured one of the world's most notorious drug dealers, Colombian Jorge Luis Ochoa Vasquez. Senior State Department and Justice Department officials made public calls for Ochoa to be extradited to the United States, where he was wanted on narcotics-related charges. Ochoa is a kingpin of the Medellín cartel, Colombia's largest drug ring and the supplier of almost 70 percent of the cocaine entering the U.S. market.

Today, however, Ochoa is a free man, as a result of a botched covert operation by U.S. authorities. According to his lawyers, D.E.A. agents proposed a deal to Ochoa: If he would implicate Nicaragua's Sandinista government in cocaine trafficking, the United States would deliberately bungle the extradition request. But Ochoa insisted that he knew nothing of a Sandinista coke connection, and he spent twenty months in jail fighting deportation to the United States. In the end, the Spanish courts ruled that the United States was seeking to use Ochoa as a "political instrument" to discredit Nicaragua; the extradition request was denied and Ochoa was sent to Colombia instead.

U.S. officials interviewed said that the Ochoa debacle illustrates how the Administration's obsession with Nicaragua has undermined the effectiveness of the D.E.A. and led to branches of the U.S. government acting at cross-purposes.

Parts of this story were reported in the Madrid daily *El País* but were never picked up in the U.S. media. Today, the story warrants Congressional scrutiny. For, as this InterNation report reveals, at least one of the D.E.A. agents involved in the Ochoa operation was also a member of the team used by Lieut. Col. Oliver North in his secret operations.

Ochoa fled to Madrid in June 1984 after being implicated in the assassination of Lara Bonilla, the Colombian Minister of Justice who had crusaded against his country's $5-billion-a-year cocaine trade. Ochoa assumed a false identity and took up residence with his wife in a luxury chalet complete with swimming pool, tennis courts, discothèque and a fleet of Mercedes-Benz autos. He concealed his money in various bank accounts and began buying up land in Spain.

Ochoa might still be living the high life in Madrid had it not been for a big-time smuggler named Alder Berriman (Barry) Seal. Seal, who was eventually gunned down gangland-style in Louisiana in February 1986, had amassed a fortune of between $60 million and $100 million through dope trafficking. In March 1984 he was facing a possible ten-year jail term because of a Miami narcotics conviction. According to Assistant U.S. Attorney Richard Gregorie, Seal had had extensive dealings with Ochoa and the Medellín cartel.

Seal tried to plea-bargain, but officials in Florida and Louisiana turned him down. Undaunted, he flew to Washington to meet with Vice President George Bush's newly formed antidrug task force, which included representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence units. Impressed by Seal's story, the task force referred him back to the D.E.A. in Miami. Soon he embarked on a career that earned him praise from D.E.A. officials as "the single most important witness in the history of the D.E.A."

It was Seal who first linked the Sandinistas to cocaine. In July 1984 he told a Miami grand jury that he had discovered, while on an undercover D.E.A. operation in Medellín, that Nicaragua was a transit point for drug shipments. There, Seal testified, he met Jorge Ochoa, who told him that high-level Sandinista officials had sanctioned plans to build a major cocaine processing lab in Nicaragua. On another excursion, Seal said, he flew 1,500 kilograms of cocaine from Colombia to Managua, where Ochoa had instructed him to refuel before completing his journey to the United States. According to Seal, his plane was mistakenly hit by Sandinista antiaircraft fire shortly after takeoff, forcing him to land again in Managua. There the drugs were supposedly stashed away by a Nicaraguan official, and Seal returned to the United States empty-handed.

Miami D.E.A. agents Robert Joura and Ernest Jacobsen, who had permitted Seal to travel abroad without supervision to gather evidence against the Colombian cartel, were surprised by his news of a Nicaraguan connection. To them, the main purpose of Seal's activity was to produce a "smoking gun" to be used against Ochoa.

But Thomas Sclafani, Seal's attorney, maintains that nailing the Sandinistas was a key part of his client's deal with the U.S. government—even if it was not uppermost in the minds of D.E.A. officials. In June 1984, before Seal allegedly flew back to Nicaragua to pick up the cocaine, the C.I.A. approached the D.E.A. and asked for permission

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Martin A. Lee is the editor of "EXTRA!," the monthly newsletter of Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), and author, with Bruce Shlain, of Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion *(Grove Press). Research assistance for this article was provided by Pia Gallegos, a New York City–based attorney.*

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to install a hidden camera in Seal's newly acquired C-123 transport plane. The photographs that Seal took were intended to be used as evidence not against Ochoa but against the Sandinistas.

At an airstrip near Managua, Seal testified, he photographed a group of men loading duffel bags onto the C-123. Seal claimed the bags were filled with cocaine and the men were Sandinista soldiers dressed in civilian clothes, accompanied by a close aide to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge. His mission accomplished, Seal headed back to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida and passed along the "evidence" to Federal officials.

A blurry black-and-white photograph taken by Seal was displayed by President Reagan in March 1986 during a nationally televised speech. "I know that every American parent concerned about the drug problem will be outraged to learn that top Nicaraguan government officials are deeply involved in drug trafficking," Reagan said. "There seems to be no crime to which the Sandinistas will not stoop. This is an outlaw regime." Three months later the House of Representatives voted for an additional $100 million in aid to the *contras*.

Seal himself was apparently involved in delivering weapons to Central American military bases for the *contras*, and sometimes, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, he returned to the United States with drugs. *The Journal* reported that four imprisoned drug pilots who knew Seal said he was part of the supply network supervised by Oliver North and the C.I.A. while the Boland amendment aid cutoff was in effect. (The same C-123 used by Seal in the Sandinista sting, after a change in ownership, crashed in Nicaragua last October while on a *contra* supply mission, resulting in the capture and trial of American mercenary Eugene Hasenfus.)

Events took an abrupt turn in July 1984, when the White House leaked to the *Washington Times* information about the Sandinista drug connection. The television networks and big dailies gave the story prominent coverage, even though Seal's allegations had not been corroborated by any Federal law-enforcement agency. In fact, the D.E.A. has consistently maintained that it has no information implicating "the Minister of Interior or other Nicaragua[n] officials" in narcotics trafficking.

Seal's story was a propaganda windfall for the White House and the *contras*, but it caused havoc among D.E.A. officials, who feared that the publicity would short-circuit their probe of Ochoa and the Medellín cartel. "We were nowhere near being finished with this investigation when the photo was leaked. We were very disappointed when it happened," D.E.A. agent Joura said. "When the C.I.A. asked if they could put a camera in the plane, it didn't seem like a big deal. But whoever ended up with the photo felt what they were doing with the *contras* was more important than our work. Maybe certain people weren't being forthright with us from the beginning."

Nevertheless, on the basis of Seal's July 1984 testimony, a Miami grand jury went ahead and indicted Ochoa and ten others on drug charges. By that time, an anonymous source had alerted Interpol to Ochoa's presence in Madrid, and Spanish police put him under surveillance.

That October 17, the U.S. Embassy in Madrid issued a "verbal note" to the Spanish Foreign Ministry requesting Ochoa's detention. A month later, he was arrested by Fernando Martinez Cos-Gayon, a member of Madrid's special antidrug police. Ochoa was held incommunicado for four days while Cos-Gayon interrogated him in the basement of Puerta de Santa Maria, a high-security prison.

Cos-Gayon and his boss, Florentino Gomez Mesa, head of Group 4 of Madrid's Judicial Police, who had also participated in Ochoa's arrest, were both named in a November 27, 1984, complaint lodged by Ochoa's lawyers. It cited numerous irregularities in the detention of their client and charged that Ochoa had been pressured by Cos-Gayon "to denounce the government of Nicaragua as a promoter and protector of international drug trafficking." In exchange for his cooperation, Ochoa was promised that extradition papers for his return to the United States would be improperly filed, and he would be freed.

DRAWINGS BY LARRY W. CARROLL

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There was good reason for the agents to believe that Ochoa might have been willing to make such a deal. Numerous reports indicate that he and the Medellín cartel had already contributed money and drugs to the *contras*. Ramon Milian-Rodriguez, a convicted money-launderer for the cartel, recently told the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations that he funneled nearly $10 million to the *contras* through former C.I.A. operative Felix Rodriguez in 1983. Felix Rodriguez was key in North's *contra* supply network, serving as liaison to Vice President Bush's office, which had "recruited" Barry Seal.

The Spanish lawyers, who were unaware of their client's contributions to the *contras*, also pointed out that according to the verbal note from the U.S. Embassy, the Justice Department had specifically requested that Cos-Gayon, a relatively low-level police officer, handle the arrest and detention of Ochoa. It was unprecedented for a foreign country to designate who should carry out an arrest in Spain. In addition, the lawyers charged that Ochoa's four-day interrogation was directed by American D.E.A. agents on the scene.

The Madrid police barred Cos-Gayon from speaking with InterNation about the Ochoa case because it was "a problematic and sensitive matter." But police sources close to Cos-Gayon did confirm that he underwent special training with the D.E.A. in the United States. He and Gomez Mesa worked closely with James Kible, a Madrid-based D.E.A. agent who was assigned to the Ochoa case.

Kible, barred by his superiors from talking to reporters, was one of a select group of D.E.A. operatives who conducted secret missions for Oliver North and the National Security Council. On October 24, 1986, Kible and another D.E.A. agent, Victor Oliveira, were apprehended by Spanish customs officials while boarding a plane for Switzerland at Madrid's Barajos Airport. In their possession was a briefcase filled with $5 million in cash. According to Spanish government officials quoted in *El País* of May 9, 1987, the money was destined for a bank account in Zurich controlled by North's *contra*-aid team. Some of the funds were intended as ransom to free American hostages in Lebanon.

After twenty-eight hours in police custody, Kible and Oliveira resumed their journey, cash in hand, thanks to the swift intervention of Gomez Mesa. Records of their detention have since disappeared from the police archives in Barajos. The Spanish government registered a formal protest with the U.S. Embassy after Kible admitted, while in custody, that he had channeled money through Spain for covert operations on many occasions without being detected by customs officials.

The sums smuggled by Kible and Oliveira during various trips far exceeded the required hostage ransom of $2 million, suggesting possible D.E.A. involvement in other aspects of the Iran/*contra* scandal that have yet to be disclosed by Congressional investigators. North has testified that he obtained the approval of Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d to enlist the help of the D.E.A., whose covert operations—unlike those of the C.I.A.—do not have to be reported to Congress. The C.I.A. provided additional funds

yet every time Congress has voted down contra aid, Israel has increased its involvement with the contras. Since the late 70s Israel's presence in Central America has followed the same seesaw pattern, supplying Guatemala, El Salvador, Somoza and his heirs, the contras, whatever the US denies.

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for North's capers, which were so secret that most senior drug enforcement officials did not know about them.

A week after Ochoa's arrest, Gomez Mesa held a press conference in Madrid at which he accused Ochoa of conspiring with Sandinista officials to smuggle cocaine into the United States via Nicaragua. Gomez Mesa also charged that Ochoa had links with M-19, a Colombian guerrilla group, and was preparing to establish a drug trafficking operation in Madrid.

After considering those charges and reviewing Seal's testimony about Ochoa, a lower court in Spain ruled in favor of the U.S. extradition request. That was the opening salvo in what became the most heated and complex legal dispute in recent Spanish history. No fewer than twelve rulings were issued by various tribunals, involving a total of twenty-eight judges.

From the outset, Ochoa's high-powered, five-person legal team staked its strategy on a political defense. The case was not about drug trafficking, the lawyers argued, but about the United States perverting the law in an effort to discredit Nicaragua. "In order to take up the defense of a country, I had to defend a delinquent," explained one of Ochoa's lawyers, Joan Garces. "I am an attorney in the spirit of the Boland amendment," he added. "I am against the secret operations of a dirty war."

Garces, who had never before defended an accused drug trafficker, maintained that the case against his client rested solely on the uncorroborated accusations of Barry Seal, whose credibility was seriously undermined by the fact that he was in a contract with the U.S. government and stood to gain personally by linking Ochoa to the Sandinista regime.

The timing of Seal's sting operation was not coincidental, Ochoa's attorneys maintained: Seal had begun his undercover career in March 1984, shortly after Nicaragua announced its intention to press charges against the United States in the World Court. The U.S. Embassy had filed its verbal note requesting Ochoa's detention less than a week after Congress passed the second Boland amendment, cutting off aid to the *contras*. And Spanish police arrested Ochoa in November, the same month the World Court declared itself competent to rule on Nicaragua's complaint. In September 1985, a Spanish criminal court affirmed the argument advanced by Ochoa's lawyers and rejected the U.S. extradition request on the ground that the charges against Ochoa were "immersed in a political context."

The court approved Ochoa's extradition to Colombia, which wanted to try him on charges of forging documents in the sale of prize bulls. (Drug charges were later added to Colombia's petition.) "Under Spanish law we can only extradite someone for reasons of criminality," explained Judge Jeronimo Barnuevo Asensi, who voted against the United States. "The U.S. tried to get Ochoa for political reasons. This is why we favored Colombia." In effect, the Spanish tribunal had ruled on more than just Ochoa's status: It rendered judgment against Reagan's secret war in Central America. That decision was affirmed by the National Audience (Spain's equivalent of the Supreme Court) on February 17, 1986.

A full-blown constitutional crisis ensued in Spain. The Spanish government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzáles, which had steadfastly backed the U.S. petition, challenged the jurisdiction of the National Audience on extradition matters. The dispute was resolved by a special panel that ultimately sided with the Spanish judiciary, thereby clearing the way for Ochoa's deportation to Colombia on July 11, 1986.

Six weeks later, Ochoa dropped out of sight after his release from a Colombian prison, which officials in Bogotá subsequently called a "misunderstanding." Renewed U.S. efforts to extradite him had failed. But Assistant U.S. Attorney Richard Gregorie, who handled the Miami indictment of Ochoa, said that the U.S. government has to shoulder much of the blame for what happened. The efforts to contain Communism and combat narcotics are often at "cross-purposes" said Gregorie. "Maybe there is a part of the Administration that is so worried about the Godless communist conspiracy that they've lost sight of the true objectives" of stopping the flow of drugs into the United States. "If you want to get to the bottom of this affair," advised Ochoa's attorney Garces, "go ask Colonel North." □

PURGING THE TEAMSTERS

Why Not Try Union Democracy?

JANE CONNOLLY

More than thirty years of legal skirmishes between the U.S. government and the nation's largest and most racket-ridden union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, may soon culminate in a corruption case to end all corruption cases.

Justice Department sources confirmed in June that Federal prosecutors are now preparing a massive civil racketeering suit against the teamsters, to be filed this fall under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act. According to press reports, the government will seek to remove teamster president Jackie Presser and his seventeen-member national executive board, an action unprecedented in the history of American unions. The government will argue that the current teamster leadership—and its predecessors back to the Jimmy Hoffa era—have been part of an organized-crime conspiracy to control the union for illegal ends. Evidence to support that claim will be drawn from the hundreds of past criminal cases brought against teamster officials involved in theft, extortion, murder, benefit-fund fraud, racketeering and gangsterism of all kinds.

Among the many "Teamos" who have been indicted and jailed since the early 1950s are three of the union's past five national presidents. Presser, the latest, is a millionaire

Jane Connolly is the pseudonym of a labor activist with experience in the teamster reform movement.

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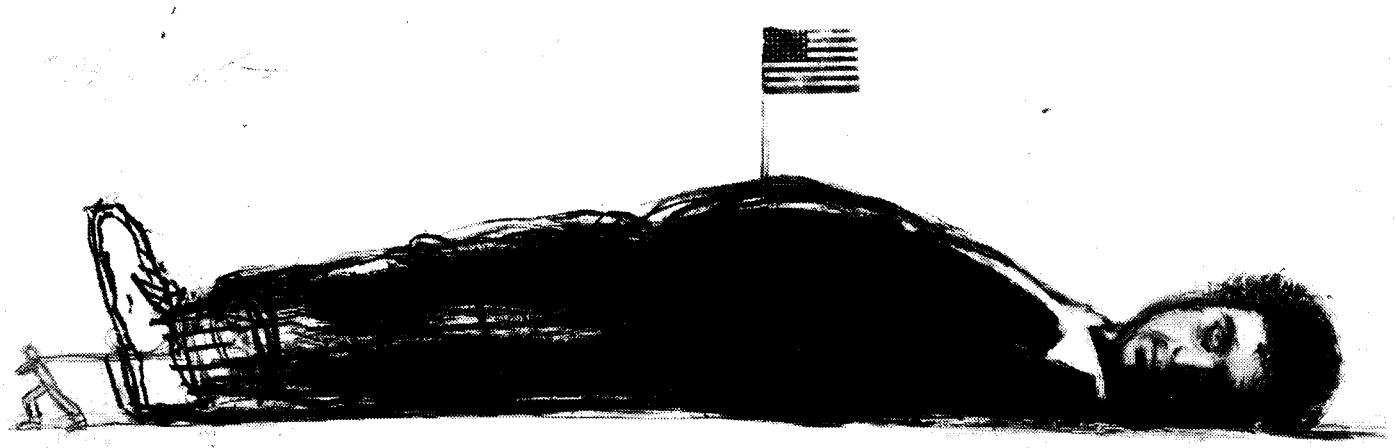
Cleveland businessman who faces trial on Federal charges that he embezzled more than $700,000 in local union funds in a payroll padding scheme. Imprisoned former teamster president Roy Williams, in several recent court appearances and a sworn statement to the President's Commission on Organized Crime, claimed that the mob has influence over many big-city teamsters' union locals. He attributed his own 1981 elevation to the union presidency to the backing of organized-crime figures. And the government has attempted to show, through corroborative testimony by former Cleveland mob underboss Angelo Lonardo in the prosecution of convicted Genovese family leader Anthony (Fat Tony) Salerno, that Presser became teamster president four years ago in the same way.

Convictions and imprisonments only change the names of the crooks operating within the union; the teamsters' organized-crime connections and appalling culture of corruption remain the same. If successful, the RICO suit could sweep out the union's entire top leadership and put day-to-day affairs in the hands of an outside administrator for an extended period of time. This new and drastic remedy, available only since 1970, has been applied previously in cases involving mob-dominated locals in New York City and New Jersey but never to a national union of the size and scope of the teamsters. Among labor lawyers, academic experts, teamster members and other trade unionists there is growing controversy about the necessity, desirability and even feasibility of cleaning up the teamsters through government administration.

The teamsters' union has, as always, denied any mob connection and denounces the impending RICO suit as the most serious threat to the "free trade union movement" anywhere in the world. "Takeovers of unions are nothing new—Communists and Fascists have been doing so for decades," Presser says. "However, it is a sad day in the history of the United States and the American labor movement when such tactics are employed." A fervent supporter of Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, when the teamsters were the only major union to endorse the Republican presidential ticket, Presser now accuses the Administration of attempting to divert public attention from its political problems by launching a "groundless attack" on the teamsters.

Reaction to the suit from the rest of the labor movement has not been enthusiastic either. The teamsters' union has embarrassed other unions since its expulsion from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in 1957 for being "dominated by corrupt influences." But concern about a dangerous precedent unites both the right and left in labor, from the handful of A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions with their own organized-crime problems (who fear they may be future RICO case defendants) to radicals who are opposed on ideological grounds to judicial meddling in internal union affairs. A.F.L.-C.I.O. president Lane Kirkland spoke for many trade unionists when he told the *Los Angeles Times* that a teamster trusteeship was not "the proper relationship between a government and a private institution in a free society." Victor Kamber, a prominent Washington labor consultant who works for the Laborers International and the United Food and Commercial Workers, used a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece to blast the idea as a new form of Reagan Administration union-busting "threatening to fundamental liberties."

At least one influential liberal, Representative William Clay, chair of the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, has also sided with the teamsters. Clay told a teamster testimonial dinner gathering in St. Louis that the government was out "to destroy an integral part of organized labor," and he warned that "the same kind of takeover of three other unions—the International Longshoremen, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, and the Laborers International"—was also being considered by the Justice Department. Encouraged by Clay's stand, the teamsters' union is reportedly trying to enlist other unions in a pre-emptive campaign against the RICO suit. Presser's top lawyer, John Climaco, says the teamsters have received messages of support from "four or five" A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions, including the Laborers International. Presser personally has requested meetings with several national union presidents to discuss the situation.



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The RICO case has created both a political opening and a serious dilemma for the 10,000-member Teamsters for a Democratic Union (T.D.U.), which has long argued that greater internal union democracy is the only real solution to the problem of teamster corruption. In its national campaigns and local chapters, the group has promoted membership education and mobilization as the most effective means to win honest leadership, structural reforms, better working conditions and stronger teamster contracts.

Even hard-core T.D.U. members who favor major alterations in the union's Constitution, to insure membership control and deny mob allies their traditional power, are wary of trusteeship. In their view, it is both undesirable and unworkable to have court-appointed outsiders negotiating teamster contracts, overseeing strikes and organizing campaigns or dealing with government agencies on workplace issues. The Federal government's record in trucking deregulation, truck safety enforcement and labor law administration gives teamster members little confidence that their interests as workers would be properly defended.

T.D.U. activists also point to the mixed results in the only teamster local in which a successful RICO suit has already led to the replacement of mob-influenced officers by a court-appointed trustee. From the early 1950s until last year, the largest trucking union in northern New Jersey—the 9,000-member teamster Local 560—was controlled by the notorious Provenzano brothers (Tony, Sammy and Nunzio) or their allies, all of whom had close ties with the Genovese crime family. The Provenzanos' long reign was maintained by the use of union patronage and by the kidnapping and murder of one of "Tony Pro's" rivals in the union, the public assassination of a prominent Local 560 dissident, and innumerable threats, beatings or union-instigated firings of other opponents. All three Provenzano brothers are now in Federal prisons, variously for murder, extortion, fraud and racketeering. But it was not until the Justice Department won a civil RICO suit against Local 560 in 1984 that a Federal District Court judge, Harold Ackerman, was able to evict the many relatives and sycophants installed by the Provenzanos to run the union and its lucrative benefit funds in their absence. Finding that Local 560's members were the victims of a "multifaceted orgy of criminal activity," Judge Ackerman appointed a former United Auto Workers organizer and onetime president of the New Jersey A.F.L.-C.I.O., Joel Jacobson, to administer the local until new officers could be freely nominated and elected.

During his ten-month stint as trustee, Jacobson worked hard to restore normal union functioning, deal honestly and effectively with employers and convince members that they could prevent the still-powerful faction aligned with the Provenzanos from returning to power. T.D.U. critics inside and outside the local contend, however, that the trustee's "good government" approach wasn't enough to overcome debilitating rank-and-file fear and passivity. According to those activists, Jacobson's unwillingness to be identified with the larger teamster reform movement led him to move too slowly in organizing members into a political force capable of defeating the group that is aggressively campaigning for an end to the trusteeship.

Membership complaints eventually reached Ackerman, who replaced Jacobson in May with a new trustee, former Assistant U.S. Attorney and New Jersey criminal justice division director Edwin Stier. Stier added to the controversy surrounding Jacobson's abrupt departure by telling the press that he was "a cop" rather than a union man. Although Stier has since appointed an experienced labor official to act as one of his deputies, Jacobson remains bitter about Ackerman's decision to replace him. "To delegate the court's RICO authority to individuals who are more proficient at blowing whistles than defending workers and challenging employers is a monumental blunder," he wrote in a *New York Times* Op-Ed essay. "The measure of success [of RICO trusteeships] will not be the number of capos who can be thrown into jail but, rather, convincing the union's members that democratic, militant trade unionists provide better representation than a less-noble 'brotherhood.'"

A staff member who has served under both Jacobson and Stier indicates that the heavy load of day-to-day work in the local—for example, the job of negotiating and enforcing 400 separate contracts—has made it difficult for his colleagues to rally the membership. "We've barely made a dent" in the Provenzanos' machine, he admits, agreeing with Jacobson that "there must be empowerment of the rank and file if government trusteeships are going to work. Otherwise, it's just political retaliation and interference—a disaster for the union."

To avoid such an outcome at the national level, the T.D.U. is proposing a more limited form of Federal intervention. In a legal memorandum submitted to the Justice Department earlier this year, the T.D.U. urged the government to use RICO only to democratize the national union's leadership-selection process.

"The RICO statute provides for 'reorganization' of any enterprise found to be racketeer-controlled," explains Ken Paff, a former Cleveland truck driver who has served as the T.D.U.'s national organizer for the past ten years. "It could be the basis for court-ordered changes in the I.B.T. [teamster] Constitution that would require a membership referendum vote for the top officers every three years." (Currently, officers are elected by about 2,000 convention

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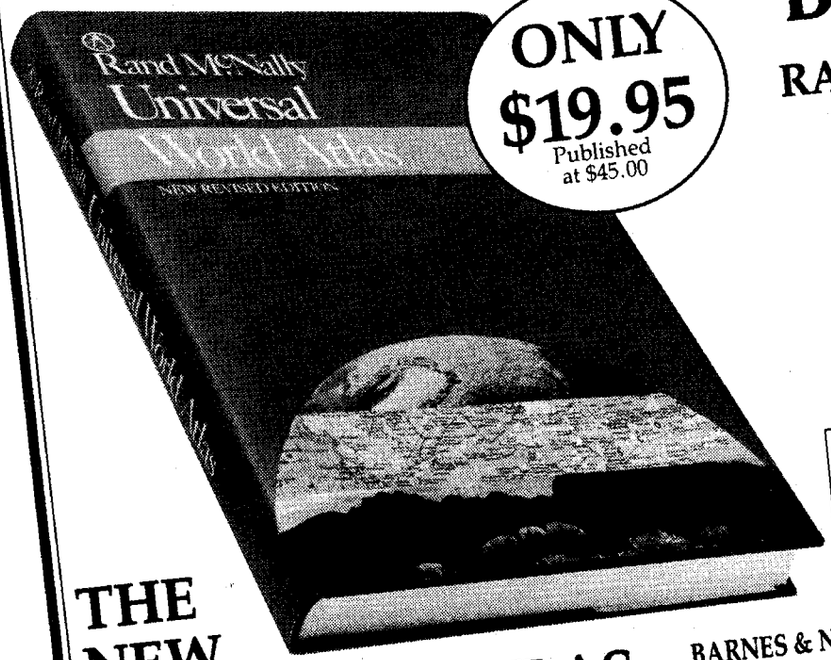

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delegates, almost all of them full-time officials of the union, who meet only once every five years.) Pointing out that Presser never won a single contested rank-and-file vote for union office, Paff contends that if "given half a chance, members of our union will stand up for democracy, for good contracts, for solidarity, for honest leadership." They will not, he insists, "elect Presser or anyone else who would trade away our hopes and aspirations for the interests of organized crime."

Paff and other T.D.U. leaders argue that the first teamsters' union one-member, one-vote balloting for national officers and regional vice presidents should be government supervised. This arrangement enabled a T.D.U.-style group called Miners for Democracy to unseat Tony Boyle, the corrupt and dictatorial head of the United Mine Workers, in 1972. Such supervision has also been widely used by the Labor Department to insure fair elections at the local union level. T.D.U. members note that, unlike trusteeship, the "right to vote" has strong support, as demonstrated by the tens of thousands of rank-and-file signatures collected last year on T.D.U. petitions in favor of direct elections. (A T.D.U.-backed proposal for referendum elections at the teamsters' 1986 national convention, however, was voted down by a large margin.)

There are several major obstacles to implementation of the T.D.U.'s plan. First, there is no indication that the government is interested in using the RICO law to reform the teamsters. Many of the conservative Republican prosecutors working on labor racketeering cases—and the Reagan-appointed judges likely to hear them—are willing to throw the book at mobsters, but they are not ready to empower union members through democratic reforms that might also influence collective bargaining and strikes. (Judge Ackerman, still handling the Local 560 case, appears to be the only former C.I.O. activist in the Federal judiciary.)

A membership-controlled teamsters' union would, for example, deal much more aggressively with employers who have long benefited from the cozy labor-management relationship available for a price under the teamsters' old regime. Employers are aware of that; when the American Trucking Association's industry newsletter, "Transport Topics," surveyed managers about the possible effect of trusteeship on future contract negotiations, concern was expressed "that the government could replace the present union executive board members with militant dissidents who in the past have bitterly opposed wage concessions and work rule changes."

Unfortunately, the rest of the labor movement is also unlikely to support the T.D.U.'s bid for voting rights. Most A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders have no love for dissidents either, and do not permit referendum election of top officers and board members in their own unions. While most unions use the convention election method more democratically than the teamsters have, there have been enough recent legal challenges and membership complaints about alleged irregularities at conventions, even in liberal unions like the United Auto Workers, to make mainstream officials unsympathetic to court-ordered referendums in the case of the teamsters.

There is also no assurance that referendums would immediately lead to the election of a reform leadership or even the complete elimination of mob-backed figures. The T.D.U.'s active chapters and its members and fellow travelers in local office are still concentrated in fewer than a hundred of the union's 700 locals. The T.D.U.'s ability to develop candidates who could compete in and win costly referendum election campaigns involving hundreds of thousands of potential voters throughout the United States and Canada remains untested. But it is to be hoped that the continuing controversy over a possible teamster trusteeship will at least help the T.D.U. keep the "right to vote" issue before the union's members, even if it's not on the agenda of their would-be protectors in the Justice Department.

Regardless of the outcome of a national-level RICO suit against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, there are certain to be many more cases against mob-dominated local affiliates of the teamsters and other unions around the country. Sooner or later, the labor movement may even be forced to take a stand against the undemocratic practices that facilitate mob influence or control. Until groups like the T.D.U. finally get the backing they need from other trade unionists in their struggles for union democracy and reform, labor's arguments against outside intervention will seem hollow. □

Questions

(Continued From Front Cover)

twenty-two years with the Federal Aviation Administration and seven years as an independent aviation consultant. I visited Porter in Spokane, Washington, in February 1985, on the way to Anchorage as part of my investigation into the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 case.

Porter had been retained as an investigator and expert witness by a legal firm that represented one of the defendants in litigation surrounding Flight 007, and although he had been ordered not to discuss the case without permission, he agreed to meet with me. Throughout his inquiry, it seemed to Porter that the law firm was not interested in having him conduct an aggressive investigation. It was in part his frustration with that that made him willing to talk to me.

We discussed the case for seven hours in the coffee shop of the Davenport Hotel. While not providing me with any specific information about the work he had done for the law firm, Porter made suggestions as to how I might go about my inquiry. When we spoke about the transcripts of tapes of the air traffic controllers' conversations in Anchorage, Porter insisted that his experience had taught him never to trust other people's renderings, because of deliberate

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David Pearson is a sociologist living in New Haven, Connecticut. *Copyright © 1987 by David Pearson. From the book* KAL 007: The Cover-Up, *by David Pearson (Summit Books). Printed by permission.*

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tampering, sloppy work, errors in judgment, poor equipment, the bias of the listener or the transcriber's lack of background in aviation communications. He described cases on which he had worked where an independent analysis of tapes had yielded a new interpretation, allowing the case to be solved. Porter strongly recommended that I obtain such an analysis, and other experts I consulted with concurred.

After the second anniversary of the tragedy, I obtained tapes of the communications between Flight 007 and Tokyo air traffic controllers from Senator Yutaka Hata of the upper house of the Japanese Diet, who had got the tapes from the Japanese government under parliamentary procedures. Larry Porter, who had by that time extricated himself from his commitment to the law firm, set to work. Practically inaudible material was enhanced by computer equipment, vocal stressors, parametric equalizers and filters of various types. The electronic equipment, however, could not do it all. Deciphering difficult acoustic material requires experience, extraordinary patience and hard work. On first hearing, such material is often utterly incomprehensible. Even after state-of-the-art electronic enhancement, hundreds, sometimes thousands of listenings by an experienced analyst are required. The analyst, in effect, creates hypotheses in his or her mind about what was said and then tests them by repeated listening. In time, the words begin to make sense. By the end of the process, material that was impossible to make out at first can become completely clear.

Even so, such material does not make good evidence in court. Judges and juries think that if something is said to be on a tape, it should be audible to them, and easily audible. But they are forced to accept expert testimony without being able to evaluate it. In addition, experts often disagree. Other professionals might dispute Porter's rendering of Flight 007's various messages or give contradictory testimony to a Congressional committee. However, no other acoustics analyst has spent the time on this material that Larry Porter has.

For Flight 007's final transmission, for instance, Porter estimated he had dedicated a minimum of twenty to thirty hours for each second of the audio material, which is nineteen seconds in length. "I've got hundreds and hundreds of hours in this thing," Porter said. Porter was assisted in many of the technical aspects of the analysis by Professors Les Atlas and Alan Reich of the University of Washington, Seattle, and by Rex Andrew, a graduate student. Porter pointed out that the university team, like himself, put in hundreds of hours of work for "pitiful compensation." Many of the ideas about which techniques to try came from Professor Atlas, who also reviewed and evaluated all of the work. Although Porter's investigation is still in progress, his analysis of the tapes has produced important results.

Porter's most dramatic finding came from the tapes of Flight 007's conversations with air traffic controllers in Anchorage, which I obtained through a Freedom of Information Act request in 1985. He had been the first to pick out a background voice in Anchorage's Air Route Traffic Control Center saying, "A person should warn him," which had made something of a splash in Federal District Court in

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Washington, where the suit brought against the U.S. government by the families of the K.A.L. victims was in the discovery phase. (Professor Reich had signed an affidavit attesting to the audibility of the passage, but when it was introduced, government witnesses declared the passage "unintelligible.") But that was only part of a longer conversation that took place in the Air Route Traffic Control Center (bracketed words represent the best interpretation;

The Japanese Tapes

Two years after K.A.L. Flight 007 was shot down by a Soviet SU-15 fighter, the government of Japan released tapes of high frequency (HF) and very high frequency (VHF) communications between the airliner, other planes and Tokyo air traffic controllers—purportedly, the complete and unaltered audio record of the flight's final minutes. The delay was inexplicable. As soon as the tapes were available, they were forwarded to acoustics expert Larry Porter for analysis.

As Porter reviewed the tapes, he made several perplexing discoveries. The HF tape ends at 1835 Greenwich mean time (G.M.T.), about eight and a half minutes after the Soviet fighter's missile attack, but the accompanying VHF tape does not begin until just after 1842 G.M.T. That leaves a seven-minute gap in radio coverage surrounding 1838 G.M.T., when, according to all early Soviet and American reports, the Korean airliner disappeared from radar. In addition, Porter found portions of Flight 007's transmissions on the HF tape unexplainably inaudible. As he remarked, "Every time you have a place where a word could affect your thinking one way or another, you have problems." Sometimes, sudden noise would obscure a single word that was critical to deciphering Flight 007's message. In other instances, some of the airliner's communications were seemingly shifted in frequency, reducing their intelligibility. None of the transmissions from other aircraft on the tape were so affected. "I've never seen anything like it," Porter said.

How could it be determined whether the tapes had in some way been deliberately altered during the two years prior to their release by the Japanese government? One approach would be to locate an earlier copy of the same material for comparison—difficult in this case, since the tapes had supposedly been in the sole possession of the Japanese government since the downing. However, the semigovernmental Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) had procured an early tape from its contacts in the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. On September 16, 1983, NHK aired a section of the HF communications between Flight 007 and Tokyo air traffic controllers, including the Korean airliner's "final message." My associate John Keppel was able to obtain a copy through contacts in Japan, and he sent it to Porter.

Both the quality and intelligibility of the NHK tape were vastly superior to that of the official HF tape given out by the government. Porter had found it necessary to employ a number of sophisticated electronic techniques to improve the audibility of the official tape, but the NHK tape did not require enhancement. "The thing I find remarkable," Porter said, "is that the level of intelligibility I had to work so hard to achieve on the official tape already existed on the NHK tape." How is that possible?

On the official government HF tape, virtually all of Flight 007's transmissions are intermixed with background voices and other noises that make it extremely difficult to determine what is being said. Some of the sounds are strong, easily audible transmissions by other aircraft. All of them were recorded on the same track as Flight 007's transmissions. However, on the NHK tape, there are no interfering voices and sounds. As Porter noted, "To my knowledge there is no existing technology that would allow the total elimination of these background voices while leaving the transmissions from Flight 007 completely undisturbed."

Another anomaly is a high-pitched sound of 1,500 hertz that can be heard throughout the eighty-eight minutes of the official HF tape. This tone, too, is on the same recorded track as the plane's voice communications, meaning that there is no technical way to separate them. But on the NHK tape, they *are* separate: Because of the way NHK edited the audio material for television, the voice communications abruptly end in midsentence. Had the tone and voices been blended on the same track, as they are on the government-released HF tape, the tone would cease when the voices do. However, in several instances, the tone can still be heard without the accompanying voices. "This really defies explanation," Porter remarked. "This would lead you to believe that the tone and the voice track at some time existed separately also."

These new findings directly challenge the government of Japan's claim to have given out a complete and unaltered audio record of K.A.L. Flight 007's final minutes. In comparison with the recently analyzed NHK tape, the official tape of Flight 007's HF transmissions appears to have been subjected to a variety of manipulations. Overall audibility was reduced and background voices and noises were added in a way that made it impossible to separate that interference from Flight 007's transmissions. The effect was to reduce substantially the intelligibility of the words spoken by the crew of the Korean airliner. "I have absolutely no faith in the integrity of this [the Japanese government's] tape," Porter concluded. "It seems I've been dealing with a bogus tape all along." —D.P.

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asterisks indicate an unintelligible syllable or word):

1434:01	Okay, you guys got someone bumping into the Russians' air defenses over here.
1434:06	Oh, you're kidding.
1434:08	A person should warn him.
1434:10	That's why you should've given the information here, instead of waiting.
1434:16	[I] can't believe **** [give him his position through Radio].

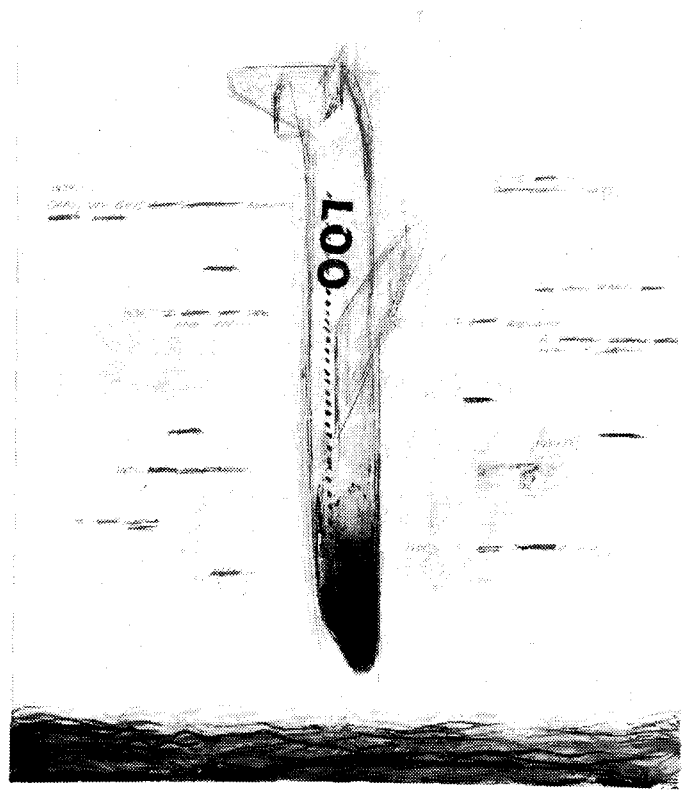
Porter said the first of the remarks has a metallic sound, characteristic of words coming over a loudspeaker. Air traffic controller Kevin DeGarmo had a loudspeaker at his position that night, able to convey messages to him from elsewhere in the Air Route Traffic Control Center as well as from other facilities such as the Regional Operations Control Center at Elmendorf Air Force Base. "The guy's microphone was obviously open," Porter said. "I picked him up tapping his pencil and whistling. . . . You get within a certain range and the noises and words will be picked up." Porter said he is absolutely certain of what is said in the unbracketed passages, and he identified three different voices in the conversation.

The implications of these words having been spoken in the Air Route Traffic Control Center are staggering: Contrary to what the U.S. government has steadfastly maintained, air traffic controllers would have been fully aware of Flight 007's deviation from course when it entered the Soviet buffer zone, some two hours before it entered Soviet airspace. Since only military radars could have observed Flight 007 "bumping into the Russians' air defenses" (civilian radar coverage does not extend nearly that far), U.S. military personnel also must have known of the airliner's deviation. Although Porter heard DeGarmo, or someone near him, suggesting that a high-frequency radio call be placed to the airliner via "Radio," the privately run International Flight Service Station, no warnings were issued by either civilians or the military. This could explain why F.A.A. personnel were not allowed to comment on the case, why military radar tapes were destroyed and why none of the controllers who testified in Federal District Court could remember what happened on the night of August 31, 1983.

There are two reasons the message Porter heard could have escaped attention until now. First, on most of the tapes distributed by the F.A.A., the "dead space" between messages—including these voices—was removed. Second, even on tapes including the dead space, the voices are very faint. Only on a copy made directly from the master tape could most of the words be discerned, and only Porter had made copies directly from the master tape. It is important to remember that the discussion about an airplane about to enter Soviet territory was not broadcast and was only picked up accidentally.

Porter believes that there is a great deal of additional information about Flight 007 to be found on tapes of what are known as interphone communications. Some air traffic controllers work the radar scopes, some work the radio and still others work the interphone equipment. These last controllers use direct telephone lines to talk to other relevant personnel in the communications net—other controllers at their own facility, controllers at airport control towers in their sectors of responsibility, personnel at the International Flight Service Station, and so on. By pressing a few buttons they also can communicate with liaison personnel at nearby military installations, such as Elmendorf Air Force Base, in this case. The most important of the interphone communications take place at what are called the supervisory positions. The interphone communications are as integral to air traffic control as radio messages, and, like them, are recorded. Thus an entire class of important communications from the night of the downing was never broadcast over the radio and never made public. "I find it incredible," Porter said, "that they'd release an accident report of this nature and magnitude [the report of the International Civil Aviation Organization] that doesn't include these interphone communications. Normally we always have the interphone side of the controlling positions on the tape and we have a transcript of what was said. It's just second nature. . . . That's where all the conversations are that would fill in the gaps. That's where all the action is." The I.C.A.O., which concluded that Flight 007's deviation from course was accidental, did not examine any of this material, and the F.A.A. now claims the most important of the interphone communications, from the supervisory positions at the Air Route Traffic Control Center, were not recorded.

Porter's work on the tapes is part of a large body of logical, circumstantial and inferential evidence assembled by independent investigators in the four years since the tragedy. They have shown that the scenarios explaining Flight 007's deviation from course in an accidental way are not credible. They have demonstrated that virtually the entire official version of events is obfuscatory, deficient or just plain wrong.



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The new evidence, including Larry Porter's important finding about conversations in the Anchorage Air Route Traffic Control Center, if accurate, means that civilian and military personnel were aware of Flight 007's deviation from course hours before it was shot down; a serious investigation is surely called for. The next stage is for an appropriate Congressional body—a subcommittee of the Intelligence or Public Works and Transportation committees, or a special group similar to the Warren commission, with the power of subpoena—to consider all the available evidence.

There is a great deal the members of Congress could do. They could require copies of executive orders or approvals concerning intelligence operations in the Kamchatka Peninsula/Sea of Okhotsk/Sakhalin Island area that were in force on the night of August 31, 1983. They could demand tapes of all relevant communications and radar monitoring by the National Security Agency and the Department of Defense. They could require that the data originally on the radar scope at Elmendorf Air Force Base, said to have been destroyed but in all likelihood preserved elsewhere in the national system, be produced. The Japanese and American tapes of communications between the Soviet pilots and their ground controllers on Sakhalin could be requested and independently translated, as could intercepted communications from the time of Flight 007's overflight of Kamchatka. Congress could demand to see the radar data showing Flight 007's disappearance at approximately 1838 Greenwich mean time. All of this might shed light on the question of whether the K.A.L. jet was on a mission for U.S. intelligence services.

For witnesses, Congress could find out the names of the watch officers on duty that night who might have had access to information about Flight 007: at the White House, the Departments of State and Defense, the C.I.A., the N.S.A., the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), the U.S. Pacific Command (CINCPAC), Elmendorf Air Force Base, Misawa Air Base and at the Wakkanai radar station in Japan. The names of the crews involved in monitoring Soviet radar and communications from Elmendorf, from Shemya Island, on a U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance plane in the vicinity, on the *U.S.S. Observation Island* and *U.S.S. Badger*, and at Wakkanai and Misawa could be ascertained. All of those officers and enlisted men could then be subpoenaed and questioned under oath. The air traffic controllers on duty at the F.A.A. Air Route Traffic Control Center in Anchorage could be questioned again.

The evidence suggests that Flight 007's deviation was known to its crew. It suggests that U.S. civilian and military personnel knew the plane was headed toward the Soviet Union hours before it was shot down, and did nothing to direct it back to course. And it is clear that the Administration has tried from the beginning to limit inquiry into the downing. How are serious observers to interpret this state of affairs? It is essential, therefore, that Congress demand the facts; that it take steps to insure that "national security" remains consonant with responsible government; and that the public learn the truth, whatever that truth might be, before something like the tragedy of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 happens again. □

EDITORIALS.

(*Continued From Page 185*)

breathing room. The Nicaraguans, for example, want to negotiate directly with the United States. So far the Administration has refused; the Speaker has not. Wright's office confirms that the Speaker sent a letter dated August 10 to Nicaragua's Ambassador to the United States, Carlos Tunnerman, stating Wright's understanding that "our President and our State Department do not rule out the idea of talks with Nicaragua."

But vague promises do not a strategy make. The possibility of bilateral talks, for example, depends on what measures of democratization the Sandinistas adopt in the coming months. A spokesman for Wright says the Central American countries will have to decide what constitutes satisfactory progress toward democracy. But those countries are already under pressure from the Administration to reject the Sandinistas' democratization gestures as insufficient.

The Administration, after all, does have a strategy. Its basic premise is found in the 1984 report of the Kissinger commission. The commission noted that "as part of the backdrop to diplomacy, Nicaragua must be aware that force remains an ultimate recourse." The commission paid lip service to the diplomatic efforts of the so-called Contadora countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Panama) but warned that their interests do not "always comport with our own." The clear implication is that the United States should reserve the right to veto regional diplomatic efforts.

The President and the men who want to succeed him are playing good cop/bad cop. The Administration will pursue the peace talks while all of the Republican presidential candidates demand Sandinista concessions tantamount to surrender. If the Central American countries do not go along, the Republicans will conclude that their interests do not "comport with our own." The party is already uniting to push for increased *contra* aid. Representative Jack Kemp has opened the bidding at $310 million for the next year and a half.

In this game, Wright and the Democrats have few options. At best Congress has veto power over foreign policy. As the Boland amendment illustrated, neither Congress nor the Administration is inclined to take that power seriously. For the Speaker of the House to establish himself or the Democratic leadership as a good-faith interlocutor between Ronald Reagan and Daniel Ortega Saavedra would be a risky and uncharacteristic venture. But the only existing alternative to the current peace process is more *contra* aid—a morally offensive strategic blunder. If the vulnerable peace process collapses, the Jim Wright Shuffle may be the Democrats' last dance as the lights go out across Central America.

JEFFERSON MORLEY

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Class History

MICHAEL KAZIN

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF LABOR: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925. *By David Montgomery. Cambridge University Press. 464 pp. $27.95.*

David Montgomery may be the last of a rare breed—a distinguished labor historian who began his career on the factory floor. In the 1950s, he was a skilled machinist and a member of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, one of the left-led unions expelled by the Congress of Industrial Organizations. He helped organize a sit-down strike (in 1953) at a safety-razor company in Brooklyn to protest its relocation to the South, invited W.E.B. Du Bois to give a lecture on black history to the members of U.E. Local 475 and, with other workers from his shop, filled a committee room to denounce a HUAC investigation into their union's affairs. Montgomery was then a Communist, and he entered graduate school only after being blacklisted from factory employment. To a recent interviewer who asked him about his struggle to remain politically relevant during the McCarthy era, he quoted a friend's ironic line: "Stick close to the working class even when they are throwing you out the shop window."

Montgomery now holds an endowed chair at Yale University, where so far no one has tried to defenestrate him. But his past as a union militant continues to inspire and shape his scholarship. Montgomery knows more about the history of the North American workplace than anyone else alive. His writings about craft traditions, the response of workers and unions to changes in business ideology and technique, the many-sided battle for job control and the politics of women and men at work are basic texts in a field that has, since the 1960s, become central to U.S. history as a whole. At the same time, he has not retreated into academic detachment. When Yale's clerical workers went on strike a few years ago, the professor aided them with his vigorous eloquence, and he routinely writes for union and left periodicals, and helps workers investigate their own history.

This large book is both a summary and the culmination of Montgomery's research over the past two decades. It concerns the golden age of industrial capitalism, when the brains and bodies of millions of migrants from Europe, Asia, Mexico and rural America changed the United States from an agricultural nation into the leading manufacturing power in the world. His main theme is not a new one: two classes battling in the workplace, the voting booth, neighborhoods and the popular press to define their positions and rewards in an order increasingly dominated by large corporations and a liberal state. But Montgomery applies his traditional brand of Marxism to an awesome variety of workers and industries, and he writes with a respect for empirical nuance and a passion for his subjects that truly make him the labor historian's labor historian.

The study begins with rich descriptions of the working lives of the three broad occupational groups that did manual wage labor in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Skilled craftsmen, factory operatives and common laborers passed one another on urban streets, but they inhabited strikingly different realms while on the job. The role each played in the production process governed, to a large degree, what form of collective resistance they mounted to the almost universal desire of employers for long hours and low wages.

Montgomery, the author of pioneering studies about the craftsmen's ethical code, concentrates here on the makers of iron and steel. Those men, most of whom, until the 1890s, were native-born whites, enforced work rules that limited how much metal each individual could produce in a day and provided for regular breaks away from the blast furnaces and heating pits. Such control was possible because the workers, many of whom did not belong to unions, were experienced artisans who directed the precise and dangerous sequence of tasks on the factory floor. They cooperated for mutual survival as much as self-respect. One journalist reported in 1868 that Pittsburgh iron craftsmen were "performing labors so severe that they have to stop, now and then, in summer, take off their boots, and *pour the perspiration out of them.*" [Emphasis in original.]

Andrew Carnegie and other employers gradually succeeded in transforming this arrangement, which put "the manager's brain under the workman's cap." They consolidated their formerly competitive operations, mechanized production wherever possible and subdivided the craftsmen's work into a number of tasks that new immigrants from southern and Eastern Europe could perform with a minimum of training. Skilled workers fought "rationalization" with massive parades, work stoppages and, in the famous 1892 Homestead strike, even cannons. Moreover, they and their brothers in coal mines and on construction sites dominated the American Federation of Labor, home to a congeries of working-class reformers and politicos at the turn of the century.

The A.F.L. generally tried to squeeze manufacturing workers into inappropriate craft unions and dismissed laborers as too itinerant to organize. However, as Montgomery demonstrates, each group devised its own forms of resistance to bad pay, abusive supervisors, exhausting duties and chronic unemployment. The typical longshoreman lifted cargo with a longtime partner and used an ethnic or family network to claim work at the same port year after year. In New Orleans, black and white stevedores managed to overcome Jim Crow long enough to distribute jobs evenly by race and to wage several common strikes. The young women who made light bulbs, shirtwaists and paper for American consumers were paid by the piece for their specialized, machine-driven tasks. Their struggle was against foremen and subcontractors who either doled out too little work or drove down piece rates whenever wage earners increased their output. When those factory workers struck, they demanded not just higher pay but an end to the arbitrary tyranny that encouraged opera-

Michael Kazin teaches history at American University. His book Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era *was recently published by the University of Illinois Press.*

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tives to compete against one another but did not even reward them for doing so.

Those sections of Montgomery's book sometimes spill over with anecdotes and observations that may distract a reader who is searching for a grand analysis. Like the French social historian Le Roy Ladurie, Montgomery employs a broad framework (in his case, the history of capitalism), but his real talent lies in the discovery and interpretation of discrete characters, statistics, events and local conditions. He tells us that a shipped bag of coffee could weigh up to 200 pounds and that "As late as 1914, not a single dock in New York City was equipped with a moving crane." He knows, for a remarkable number of industries, how many workers of each sex and each immigrant and racial group toiled at which specific occupation, and how those factors affected their ability to combine against the boss. He unearths documents that illumine a social world in a few short sentences. For example, Helen Todd, a turn-of-the-century Chicago factory inspector, interviewed teen-age workers who preferred their low-wage, unskilled positions to the classroom. Said one, "School ain't no good. The Holy Father he can send you to hell, and the boss he can take away yer job er raise yer pay. The teacher she can't do nothing." Montgomery views the workplace as an arena in which men and women fought to be treated with humane rationality, and his love of detail drives home that truth.

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Businessmen, of course, preached a different brand of rationality. At the end of the depression of the 1890s, labor's chief enemy was scientific management, which rapidly became popular on both sides of the Atlantic. Engineers armed with clipboards and stopwatches, and inspired by the vision of a workplace where no motion was wasted spread out from professional conferences and business schools to offer their wares to industry. Since Harry Braverman, in *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, identified this ideology and its leading prophet, Frederick Winslow Taylor, as the bane of modern workers' lives, labor scholars have debated the impact of scientific management. Recently historians have been more skeptical about Taylor's influence, emphasizing his insistence that every prospective client follow his complex procedures to the letter, and his belief that workers would gladly exchange job control for a higher paycheck. Perhaps this haughty dogmatist was really more successful at promoting himself than at convincing manufacturing firms to adopt his ideas.

Montgomery agrees that the gospel of Taylorism fell prey to the stubbornness of its founder. But he adds a far more consequential point: scientific management, the larger drive endorsed by intellectuals, politicians and industrialists who wanted to put supervisors (not workers) in charge of every phase of production, succeeded brilliantly. "Time-study men in the modern plant were always snooping around somewhere," he writes. "When one department had been rearranged to their (momentary) satisfaction, they turned to the next. . . . Dynamism, instability, new orders from on high, and angry disputes over those orders . . . were endemic to the new regime." Thus, the thousands of metalworkers who walked off their jobs in fear of being "Taylorized" were not paranoid. They just made the common error of mistaking one famous man for a historical movement.

Montgomery devotes the last half of his book to discussing how industrial workers and their unions coped with workplaces run according to the new doctrine of efficiency. His gaze shifts from factories, docks and construction sites to the lodge rooms, picket lines, convention halls and union newspaper offices where debates over how to resolve "the labor question" took place. "Class consciousness was more than the unmediated product of daily experience," he argues. "It was also a project."

Describing the fate of that project takes him on another ambitious historical journey, connecting the politics of the labor movement in the years surrounding World War I to conditions on the job. That was the era when American Socialists enjoyed their greatest popularity. From 1900 to 1920, they elected officials in hundreds of cities and towns and led several major unions. Montgomery writes insightfully about the conflict between Marxists and other unionists who, while they wanted to advance working-class power, did not want to lose the intermittent toleration shown by progressive businessmen or their alliance with Woodrow Wilson's Democratic Party. Joining the debate were Protestant laymen and Catholic clergy like Father John Ryan, who condemned the "materialist" morality of capitalism as well as Socialists who wanted to substitute an omnipotent state for the authority of family and church.

Montgomery provides a superb narrative road map of the tragic route working-class militants took from the euphoria of a massive strike wave during and just after World War I through the double-headed corporate offensive of unionbusting and welfare capitalism that humbled unions until the 1930s. As usual, the fortunes of the organized left in the United States rose and fell in tandem with those of organized labor, despite the rivalry between leaders such as Samuel Gompers and Eugene Debs. Radicals were among the most courageous and committed unionists. Thus, the government's repression of the "disloyal" inevitably weakened the power and reputation of the union movement as well.

Women workers played a vital role in such pivotal conflicts as the 1919 Seattle general strike. They demanded that locals meet in public halls rather than saloons so that operatives of both sexes could attend; they ostracized strikebreakers from working-class communities; and, because they seldom had any craft privileges to defend, they were among the strongest advocates of democratic, industrywide unions. Meanwhile, other women fed their families by taking in boarders, doing washing, sewing garments and, in coal-mining towns, tending livestock. Montgomery, with his customary empirical precision, shows that class is always a relationship conditioned

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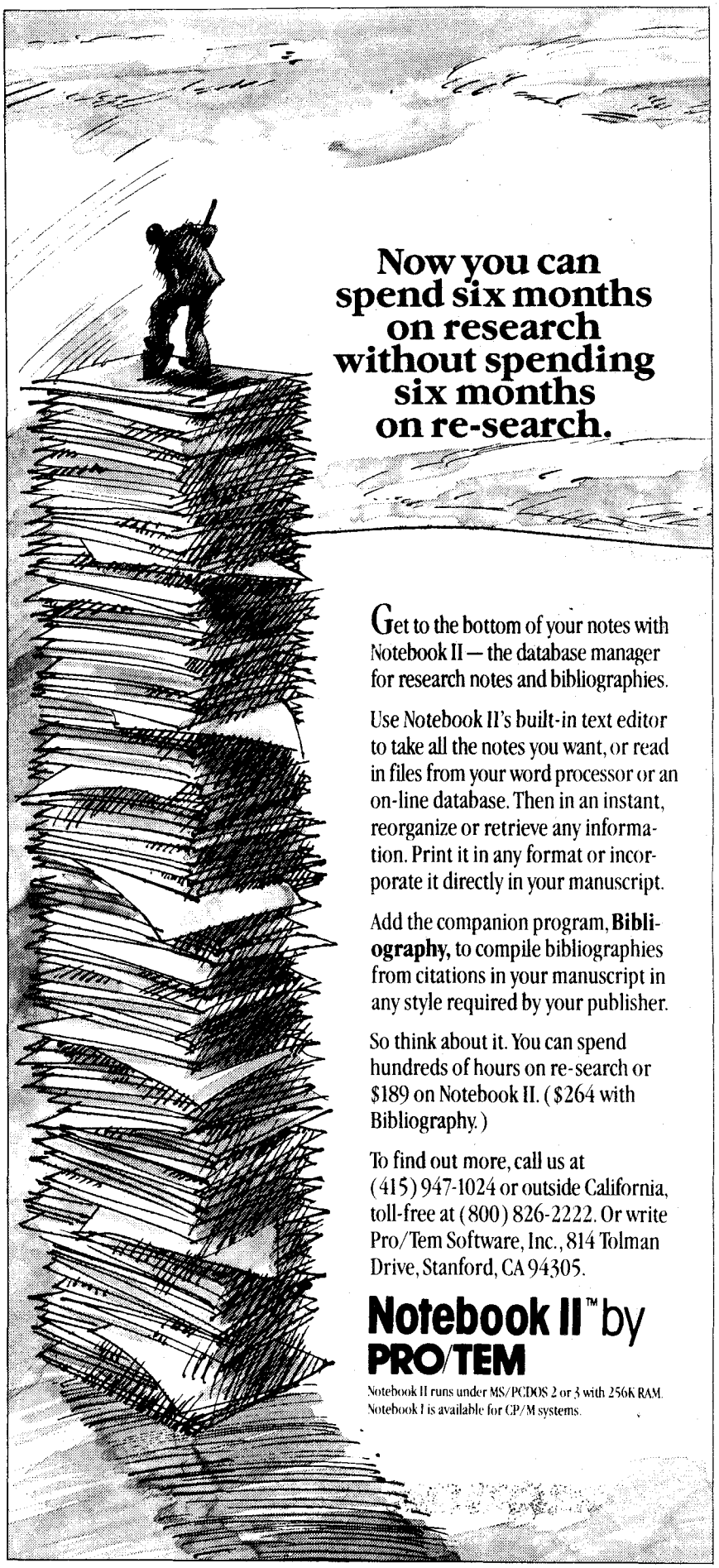
by gender as much as by economic interest.

If *The Fall of the House of Labor* has a flaw, it is that Montgomery does not explain the conclusion his title suggests: labor's failure to convince a majority of workers to identify themselves with the movement. For Montgomery, the workplace is the cockpit of social consciousness: "The human relationships structured by commodity production . . . generated bondings and antagonisms that were, in one form or another, the daily experience of everyone involved." But other ties—of family, race, ethnicity, region and nation—often shaped what an individual was willing to learn on the job. Ultimately, those proved more powerful than appeals to class loyalty.

Immigrants who endorsed "Americanization" during World War I and white machinists who barred blacks from joining their Socialist-led union acted on hopes and fears the factory did little to change. Moreover, to the majority of Americans who did not earn their living on a shop floor, the ferocious industrial conflicts of the period usually appeared threatening rather than heroic. Not only corporate executives fretted about home-grown Bolsheviks; not only conservative politicians cheered the onset of "normalcy" in the 1920s.

Montgomery does occasionally acknowledge the shortcomings of his almost exclusive focus on the workplace. "Intense class struggle" in Pennsylvania coal fields, he demonstrates, boosted the local Socialist vote among Slavic and Italian miners, but their English-speaking brethren elected independent candidates who sprang from a reformist middle class. He also notes, in a section about young female union operatives, that pleasures to be found in dance halls and nickelodeons were more likely "to become the central concern of their thoughts and dreams" than was the repetitive pace of a grimy sweatshop. But, for the author, those were distractions from the historic task to be accomplished, problems that organizers had to confront as they strained to convince working people to seek meaning and power as a class and not as individuals or members of smaller, sometimes hostile entities.

The quality that makes this book so valuable also defines its limitations. Montgomery's empathy with class-conscious workers yields a masterful ac-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count of the traditions they sought to defend, the obstacles they had to surmount and the struggles they tried to convert into an effective political force. Yet despite his unparalleled knowledge, he resists posing the critical question: Why did these struggles not produce a politically aware working-class culture capable of sustaining the labor movement through a period of repression, much less one that could hope to compete for state power?

"Agitate, Educate, and Organize, always keeping your feet on the ground," machinists' official Andrew McNamara told his members amid the mass strikes and gathering Red Scare of 1919. It is advice a former machinist from New Haven might also suggest to a new generation of labor activists fighting to keep their organizations and ideals afloat in Reagan's America. □

School for Spooks

JON WIENER

CLOAK & GOWN: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961. *By Robin W. Winks. William Morrow. 607 pp. $22.95.*

This book on Yale University's connections to the Central Intelligence Agency is not a critical one, nor does it reveal any previously secret C.I.A. operations. Robin Winks, a Yale historian of the British empire and an authority on spy fiction, knows that some people think intelligence services do more harm than good, and that anti-Soviet spy stories tend to increase when U.S.-Soviet relations are improving [see Robin W. Winks, "Mole Tales," *The Nation*, April 4]. But those issues are not discussed in his book, which documents the links between Yale and the C.I.A. through a series of meticulously researched portraits.

Winks reports that more graduates of Yale than of any other university have gone into the Office of Strategic Services and the C.I.A., including at least forty-two members of the class of '43. Why? The O.S.S. and C.I.A., Winks says, wanted "young men with high grades, a sense of grace, with previous knowledge of Europe . . . an ease with themselves," "a certain healthy self-respect" and "independent means." Yale is a good place to look for such characters—which is also why people said that "O.S.S." stood for "Oh So Social."

The O.S.S. and C.I.A. relied for recruiting on what they called "the P source": professors. The principal recruiters of Yale undergraduates into the C.I.A. were masters of residential colleges (Winks himself is master of Berkeley College). The masters' job, Winks writes, was to teach young men "what it meant to 'play the game.'" During the 1940s and early 1950s the most important C.I.A. recruiter on the Yale faculty was Arnold Wolfers, professor of international relations and master of Pierson College, an aristocratic Swiss exile who entertained visiting dignitaries like Dean Acheson by playing Dixieland jazz with his wife.

Wallace Notestein, the leading American historian of Britain during the 1930s and 1940s, was equally important as a C.I.A. recruiter, Winks reports; he taught young men to think about the relationship of history to the "real world." Four of his students went on to become Yale history professors, college masters and C.I.A. recruiters in the 1950s. Other professors became intelligence operatives themselves. Harvard diplomatic historian William (Bull) Langer joined the service after suffering an anxiety attack during a 1938 lecture on the Italian peasantry. "A break from Cambridge and from teaching was precisely what he needed," writes Winks, so Langer went—where else?—to the O.S.S. research and analysis division, and later served as assistant director of what was by then the C.I.A. Under Langer the C.I.A. contracted out research projects to institutes at Stanford, Berkeley, Columbia, Princeton, the University of Denver and Yale, and enlisted anthropologists, archeologists, art historians and other academics to use their fieldwork for C.I.A. intelligence-gathering purposes.

Yale's playing fields also served as recruiting grounds: "Coaches were at least the equal of masters in being the leaders of men." Crew coach Allen (Skip) Walz was a major C.I.A. recruiter; he also brought in National Football League players who had been cut from teams and needed jobs. He eventually left the C.I.A. to become an executive at Canada Dry.

What is intelligence? Yale historian and C.I.A. veteran Sherman Kent believed that 95 percent of "the things our state must know" could be found in the library—the Yale library—without covert means. In 1951, as head of the C.I.A.'s Office of National Estimates, he set out to prove this thesis, putting five members of the Yale history department to work for twelve weeks to see how much they could glean about U.S. military capabilities from public sources. (One of them was David M. Potter.) The resulting "Yale Report" turned out to be 90 percent correct in its inventory of the gross order of battle. President Harry Truman was on a secrecy kick at the time, accused by Republicans of trying to muzzle the press. He seized on the Yale Report as evidence of the need for press restrictions, claiming it proved that 95 percent of the government's classified information was already in print. A C.I.A. official arrived at Yale posthaste and told the five scholars to turn over to him every bit of paper they had used. Right-wing leaders charged that Yale historians were "subversively" showing how to steal the nation's secrets.

A quarter of Winks's book is devoted to James Angleton, Yale '41, head of C.I.A. counterintelligence during the 1950s and 1960s. Angleton left the agency after the 1975-76 Church committee hearings revealed that he had headed C.I.A. operation HT/LINGUAL, under which the agency had opened American mail since 1955 and kept a watch list of 2 million citizens, in violation of its charter. Defending himself before the committee, Angleton said, "It is inconceivable that a secret intelligence arm of the government has to comply with all the overt orders of the government."

In spite of that, Winks can hardly restrain his admiration for Angleton, describing him as "incredibly attractive," the greatest mind in the history of counterintelligence and a "theoretician of human nature." Yet Angleton worked for years with Kim Philby, had lunch with him weekly and never suspected him of being a Soviet spy. Indeed, the failure of the head of U.S. counterintelligence to suspect Philby led some to conclude that Angleton himself was a K.G.B. mole; the C.I.A. investigated him for two years before deciding that he wasn't.

Angleton began his career with the O.S.S. during World War II in Italy, where his father had been a prominent

Jon Wiener is a contributing editor of The Nation.

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American businessman; his jobs included keeping an eye on O.S.S. agents who seemed sympathetic to the Communist partisans. He stayed on after the war, using C.I.A. money to keep the Italian Communist Party from winning elections in the late 1940s and 1950s. Every year, $10 million to $30 million was paid not only to the Christian Democrats but to "splinter groups that might divide the Communists," and for "straightforward bribes." Claire Sterling, *New York Times* correspondent and self-appointed expert on Soviet disinformation, was a reporter for the Rome *Daily American* at the time; Winks writes that she was rumored to be working for Angleton. But that, too, is O.K. with Winks; he calls her "a courageous and enterprising investigative journalist."

Angleton went on to run a pathetic covert action which sought to overthrow Albania's Enver Hoxha and restore King Zog. Sixty agents were parachuted into Albania in 1950 and 1951; Angleton and his superiors dreamed they would start an Albanian national uprising that would "strike a spark in other eastern European countries." Virtually all the agents were caught.

Angleton's other work as a "theoretician of human nature" involved 1962 Soviet defector Anatoly Golitsin, who claimed to be a powerful K.G.B. official and who reported that the K.G.B. had a mole high up in the C.I.A. He also claimed the Sino-Soviet split was a ruse, the Prague Spring a sham and Averell Harriman a Soviet agent. This led many in the C.I.A. to question his reliability, including agency director William Colby. But not Angleton. He went to his death believing Golitsin was right, not only about the Sino-Soviet split but about Soviet penetration of the agency. Winks, trying to show that Angleton was "in some measure nonetheless correct," considers the possibility that Colby was the mole. Evidence: Colby fired Angleton, who wanted to find the mole. And Colby "surrendered the C.I.A.'s family jewels" to the Church committee in 1975, admitting C.I.A. activities in violation of its charter and promising to end them.

If Angleton was a paranoid anti-Communist, Donald Downes, Yale '26, was a socialist when he went into the O.S.S.; he ended up embittered by what he learned about American compromises with Fascism in North Africa, Spain and Italy. He had plenty to be bitter about: J. Edgar Hoover started a Federal Bureau of Investigation file on him which is said to have grown to more than 2,000 pages, and the F.B.I. hounded him until the end of his life, spreading rumors that he was a Communist and drug dealer.

In 1943, Eisenhower was worried that Allied forces in North Africa were vulnerable to an Axis attack launched from Spain. The Spanish Foreign Minister was pressing Franco to enter the war on the Axis side, and Franco was friendlier than ever with Hitler and Mussolini. Downes built a network to prepare for sabotage inside Spain if the Germans sent an army through. "Downes's Ducks" (about fifty men and a dozen instructors) were mostly anti-Franco Spanish exiles recruited in Mexico and American veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He looked for more recruits in Vichy concentration camps in the Sahara, where large numbers of Spanish Republicans were being held in "torture holes" and where the life expectancy was twenty months. The camps were unknown to the public; Downes and some of his Ducks interviewed 2,000 prisoners and tried to persuade the American authorities to close the camps, with no success. When he tried to get some inmates released to work in his sabotage network, Allied headquarters refused. Finally, he helped those he wanted most to escape.

Downes's Ducks were infiltrated into Spain in O.S.S. Operation Banana in July and August 1943. They provided a "long list of priceless information," including the Spanish order of battle, the movement of Spanish artillery by sea and data on German activity at Spanish airports. But the operation violated British and American pledges not to conduct espionage against neutral Spain, and when the British Foreign Office found out about it, they ordered that all Allied support be withdrawn. One group of "Banana boys" waiting to be picked up from a Spanish beach by a British ship was left stranded, and shortly thereafter Franco's forces raided the Banana safehouse in Málaga. A siege followed in which twelve policemen and eight Banana boys were killed.

Ten surviving Banana boys were tortured, and named Downes and Arthur Goldberg as the men who had recruited them. Before dying at the hands of Franco's police, they revealed their local Republican network; the Falangist government arrested 261 anti-Franco activists and executed twenty-two. The

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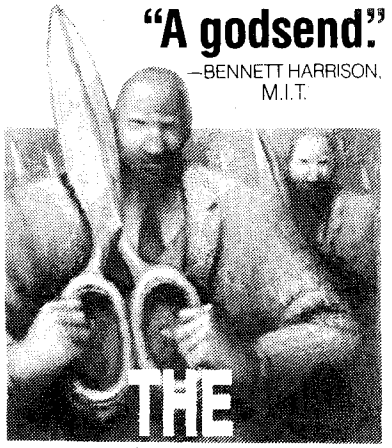

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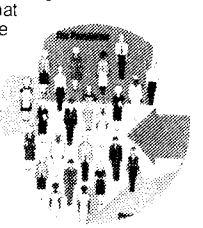

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American Ambassador to Madrid, Carlton J.H. Hayes, formerly a historian at Columbia, objected strongly to Operation Banana, and Franco was given an official U.S. apology. A British officer Winks interviewed dismissed Downes's Ducks as "Communist desperadoes bent on settling old scores with Franco." The operation brought the largest single loss of O.S.S. operatives in all of World War II.

Why did so many historians have ties to the C.I.A.? Winks refers to the "hard gemlike flame with which historians were meant to burn." I must confess I've never seen historians burning that way, but maybe things are different at Yale. Winks also argues that historians confront the same kinds of problems as the C.I.A., searching for appropriate evidence to answer questions about government. The problem is that Winks is looking for the answer in the methodology of history, instead of in its social and political dimensions. Ivy League historians became C.I.A. agents in the 1950s not because their methodology was appropriate but because they had already gone through a selection process for a profession that was WASPy and elitist and shared the assumptions of diplomats and officials. Once history graduate departments opened up in the 1960s to people from outside the elite, the profession's links with the C.I.A. came under sharp attack, from which the agency has never recovered.

Although the subtitle indicates that *Cloak & Gown* covers the period up to 1961, it's mostly about the O.S.S. in World War II, with a few brief sections on the C.I.A. The book doesn't cover Asia, so there's nothing on the role of Yale men in Indochina in the 1950s; it doesn't deal with the C.I.A.'s overthrow of Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran in 1953 and the installation of the Shah, or with the successful C.I.A. coup against Guatemala's government the next year, or with the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Winks does report that the Yale C.I.A. men he interviewed condemned agency mail-opening, intelligence-gathering on American citizens and attempts to assassinate Castro—not because they were wrong, but because they failed and thus brought the agency into disrepute. That says something about the morality and ethics Yale taught its undergraduates.

Winks ends by declaring that he sought to answer two questions in the book: whether there is an American imperialism, and whether the C.I.A.'s effort to give historical scholarship a "social utility" compromised the discipline. Unfortunately, the book hardly touches on either of those questions. It does provide irrefutable evidence that Yale has been entwined with the C.I.A. for decades. Historians of Harvard and Princeton now have an obligation to those institutions to show that Yale did not stand alone when the C.I.A. called. □

Evolution

JESSICA GREENBAUM

THE END OF BEAUTY. *By Jorie Graham. Ecco Press. 99 pp. $16.50.*

Even an admiring poet may feel like a greenhorn on coming to *The End of Beauty*. Both astonishing and bewildering, this third book by one of the most highly regarded young poets in America is often addressed directly to the reader, but is probably rarely accessible to most of us.

Graham's first two books, *Hybrids of Plants and of Ghosts* and *Erosion*, established her as a poet of unconforming, unrestrainable intellect. Her poems, many of which refer to writers and painters, often reflect her European childhood and lifelong involvement with art. They don't touch on the domestic part of life as much as they spiral away from the tangible world, tracing the path of perception into idea and philosophy.

For instance, in *Erosion*'s "I Watched a Snake," the speaker, mowing the lawn, observes a snake "hard at work . . ./. . . It kept on/disappearing." The poem shuttles between the concrete image and the abstract idea, making a metaphor of the relationship between visibility and invisibility:

> This must be perfect progress where
> movement appears
> to be a vanishing, a mending
> of the visible
>
> by the invisible—just as we
> stitch the earth,
> it seems to me, each time
> we die, going
> back under, coming back up. . . .

Toward the end of the poem, Graham writes, "Desire/is the honest work of the body . . ./. . . Passion is work/that retrieves us,/lost stitches."

In part, *Erosion* concerns itself with the place of human beings within the animal world. *The End of Beauty* continues to explore the sense human beings make in the scheme of things, but this third book takes as its context our evolution from mythical beginnings. In her new poems, Graham is constantly superimposing the cultural frames of myth on contemporary life. The book's first poem is subtitled "Adam and Eve"; a later one, which opens in a taxicab, is called "Expulsion." But the analogies are not simple, and it is easy for the reader to get lost in the winding passages between the worlds.

In many ways, Graham's new poems are radically different not only from her previous ones, but from anything else around. Her formal devices include blanks to be filled in by the reader, as in "Did you see that did you hear that (wind in the/_____ _____ _____?)," or "Like a _____ this look between us." These blanks are sometimes accompanied by the algebraic variables *x* and *y*, as in "To the Reader":

> . . . (as if to expose *what* of the hills—
> the white glare of x, the scathing splendor of y,
> the wailing interminable _____?)

or "Headlights [Near Dawn]":

> . . . her skirt is
> in place again, it will round the corner
> exactly at x, setting in motion
> (exactly)
> the y, the arousal of time into minutes

During a reading at Barnard College last spring, Graham said that reading these poems to a captive audience posed questions for her, since they are meant to address and engage a dispassionate listener. I gathered she was summarizing a more complex ideology about the relationship between poet and reader, and though the poems cast a strong spell on the audience, I wouldn't say most of us understood or precisely followed what was happening.

Creating choices for the reader does at least two things. First, it challenges the notion that a finished poem is a hermetic, untouchable unit. Second, it puts the poem "above" choice, as if

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finding *le mot juste* is no longer the poet's task. The poem's intelligence is unalterable by small changes; it speaks at a level of abstraction beyond the influence of single words. For this and many other reasons, it is unclear to me what a reader needs to bring to this volume in order to be communicated to by it. But arguments can surely be made for the spell of poetry over the forthright clarity of it, as any admirer of Wallace Stevens or John Ashbery will tell you. Some poets are able to entrance a reader who cannot follow exactly, but who trusts the poet's intelligence enough to watch, to keep listening as the poet makes his or her unpredictable leaps through the vast sky of association.

I think it is fair to say, however, that female poets have been expected to be more "domestic," more grounded and responsible to the reader than male ones. As articulators and communicators, women poets (Anne Sexton, Sharon Olds and Marilyn Hacker come to mind) have been praised for writing in the tradition of the great Elizabeth Bishop, in a language that cats and dogs can read. That's what Bishop's friend Marianne Moore recommended, and (sometimes) did herself. The right to have our work experienced and judged in different ways is still uncommon. ***The End of Beauty***, with its undeniable intelligence, should help change that.

Much of Graham's work is an exquisite exploration of the process of imagination. Her poems often show a formal allegiance to intellect, beginning in one thought and wending their way into principle and revelation by tapping all the writer's intelligence, not just that immediately surrounding the subject. "Vertigo," which is about intelligence itself, begins:

> Then they came to the very edge of the
> cliff and looked down.
> Below a real world flowed in its parts,
> green, green.
> The two elements touched—rock, air.
> She thought of where the mind opened
> out
> into the sheer drop of its intelligence

Although Graham maintains the metaphor to the end, she spends a good part of the poem asking questions related to it:

> . . . How is it one soul wants to be
> owned
> by a single other
> in its entirety?—
> What is it sucks one down, offering
> itself, only itself, for
> ever? She saw the cattle below
> moving in a shape which was exactly
> their hunger.
> She saw—could they be men?—the
> plot. She leaned. How does one enter
> a story?

Such poems are like living cross sections of the braiding process of thought, often beginning suddenly and ending with a hyphen, or no punctuation at all. Here too, Graham's form disrupts convention and pushes into the future. Because so much of the poetry we see being published and praised is formulaic, our notion of contemporary poetry often habituates itself to the subtle lure of the familiar. For instance, we are quite prepared for poems in which the speaker is set in one emotional doorway and takes the length of the poem to walk out another. We are so used to this dramatic path that we almost take it before the poem does, knowing that sooner or later, like any overworked horse, the ordinary poem will break into a run and head for the stable. Sometimes the reader gets there first.

Still, many readers will wonder: are Graham's formal devices a self-conscious attempt on her part to forge a new poetic mechanism, or are they essential to the experience of the poems, or both? Do the blanks and variables serve up a volume of intellectual Mad Libs, or a new dimension of poetic experience? Perhaps the most engaging and magnificent poem in this volume, "What the End Is For," employs none of the devices mentioned above. Using the stanza form she made her signature in *Erosion* (a roughly symmetrical six-to-eight-line stanza with even-numbered lines indented), Graham tells two stories at once. The first is about being shown a fleet of bombers in North Dakota:

> A boy just like you took me out to see
> them,
> the five hundred B-52's on alert
> on the runway,
> fully loaded fully manned pointed in
> all the directions,
> running every minute
> of every day.
> They sound like a sickness of
> the inner ear,
>
> where the heard foams up into the
> noise of listening,
> where the listening arrives without
> being extinguished.

Graham uses repetition between sentences ("where the heard foams up," "where the listening arrives") so effectively that the reader experiences something analogous to the backstitch in sewing—we go back half a step into

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what's already been said, then are moved forward, so that our connection to the poem is both fortified and stretched at every turn. That is one part of the poem's spell, part of the way we are engaged with it as a whole, not just with what narrative and logic we grasp.

The subplot of the poem is the speaker's conflict with the "you" of its first line. In a metaphor begun in one stanza then taken up in another, Graham executes a splendid description of dusk turning to evening:

> . . . The last time I
> saw you,
> we stood facing each other as
> dusk came on.
> I leaned against the refrigerator, you
> leaned against the door.
> The picture window behind you
> was slowly extinguished,
> the tree went out, the two birdfeeders,
> the metal braces on them.
> The light itself took a long time,
>
> bits in puddles stuck like the useless
> splinters of memory, the chips
> of history, hopes, laws handed down.
>
> . . .
>
> . . . We stood there. Your face went
> out a long time
> before the rest of it. Can't see
> you anymore I said. *Nor I,*
> *you*, whatever you still were
> replied.
> When I asked you to hold me you
> refused.
> When I asked you to cross the six
> feet of room to hold me
>
> you refused.

Whatever happens to the volume's other poems, "What the End Is For" will travel through time.

The End of Beauty, like the poems it contains, is a process, a cross section of the author's evolving, unstoppable intellect; it should not be judged by its star metaphors or most exciting turns. Graham's intuition is the volume's true narrator. Her maturity as a writer is evidenced in the risks she takes and in the set pieces she does not write. She makes no attempt to seduce the reader through cleverness, but only to challenge her own mind and see if we can hang on for the ride. One might well be skeptical about some of Graham's recent affectations: at the above mentioned Barnard reading, for instance, she insisted on being out of the room for the first reader's poems, saying they might interfere with her own reading rhythm. (Well!) And the book's cover, a detail from an Eric Fischl painting, may signal to some a potentially unsatisfying foray into trendy, stingy art. But while Graham's experimentations may sometimes merely be their own reward, ***The End of Beauty*** as a whole is made of superlative cloth and is more than worth trying on. You might want to have some *x* and *y* handy, though. □

THEATER.

MOIRA HODGSON

PepsiCo Summerfare

Every summer the Peter Sellars controversy heats up again. Andrew Porter and Susan Sontag think he's one of the most talented and serious opera directors around, while John Simon and Donal Henahan become crazed at the very mention of his name. Fistfights threaten to disrupt the torpor of the frequently not air-conditioned bus that takes reviewers from Manhattan to the PepsiCo Summerfare festival in Purchase, New York. In fact, it would come as no surprise to read in the newspaper one morning that the bus had been overturned on the highway by brawling critics on their way back from a night at the opera.

Whether you like his work or not, Sellars is among the chief reasons Summerfare continues to be one of the most stimulating festivals of the year. Last season, he scandalized and delighted sold-out houses with his version of Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, which took place in a diner owned by a Vietnam veteran. The year before, he staged Handel's *Julius Caesar* around a swimming pool. This year, the 200th anniversary of *Don Giovanni*, he has set Mozart's opera in a Harlem slum.

Sellars's Don Giovanni is no free-wheeling aristocrat but a lowlife junkie who hangs out among the sort of tenements the critics' bus passes before it hits the Cross-Bronx Expressway. The front door's glass is cracked, the stoop is broken down, the bell doesn't work and there is graffiti everywhere. Next door is a shuttered Spanish bodega and a launderette. A cheap-looking neon cross on the church across the way provides one of the few sources of light on the dark and gloomy street. Con Edison, digging up a sewer, has left a dangerous hole in the middle of the road.

If the set looks more suitable to ***West Side Story*** than a Mozart opera, so do

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the characters. Leporello is a black dude who jives into an imaginary microphone and takes snorts of coke from the Don. Donna Elvira, a Madonna clone in a yellow miniskirt and red leopard-skin stockings, struts about like an outraged hen. Of course, the Don has to take off his leather jacket and shoot up before he can get through the Champagne aria, and Donna Anna gets a fix in the middle of "Non mi dir," giving the coloratura section a whole new meaning.

Kurt Ollmann as the Don, tall, skinny and pale, looks like a junkie. When he strips down to his underpants (which he does twice), he doesn't look sexy, he looks pathetic. In Mozart's opera (as opposed to Sellars's) Don Giovanni was an aristocrat who seduced women of all classes. Here he is a petty figure, trapped in his addiction. He is the main reason that Sellars's version of the opera doesn't work. Not content with making the Don a junkie (even though heroin addicts are not exactly famous for their sexual appetites), Sellars makes him a pedophile to boot. We all know that Don Giovanni liked them young, but Sellars's hero has none of the middle-aged lust of Humbert Humbert. It is impossible to believe that this bloodless young man who listlessly follows a knowing little girl (Beverly Sills as a child? someone asked) down into the sewer is interested in sex with anything.

By the second act, a few visual jokes aside, the gloom has become oppressive. Not even the sight of the Don sitting down to a last supper of Big Mac and fries, while Leporello switches stations on his ghetto blaster and blasts forth the latest eighteenth-century hits, relieves the tedium. And when the tenement turned into a Robert Wilson hell, with burning trash cans, flashing red lights and naked people popping out of holes in the floor, I realized that I had actually managed to sit through a Mozart opera without feeling any emotion.

In this lurid setting, there is only room for clichés about good and evil, nothing in between. The audience knows from the start which side it is on; there is no space for ambivalence, and so there is no tension. By flashing pornographic pictures of women on a screen during Leporello's Catalogue aria, Sellars makes the point early on that Don Giovanni is interested in sex as degradation. But Mozart's Don Giovanni is more complex, at once irresistible and irresponsible to women, a wily seducer and impossible romancer, interested in power and conquest. The feelings he arouses are conflicting.

Last year, Sellars took plenty of liberties with *Così fan tutte* (also on the PepsiCo program this summer), turning Mozart's comic masterpiece into a bitter commentary on love and its betrayals. Nevertheless, whether the emotional truths of the plot were Mozart's or not, the production succeeded on some deep emotional level, quite apart from being beautifully sung. ***Don Giovanni***, on the other hand, fails because the road Sellars has chosen comes to a dead end—right at the tenement door.

Musically, although the singing was not as good as that of *Così fan tutte*, it was certainly decent. Ollmann was a lackluster Don Giovanni, but I think that was the fault of the director. Elmore James was a strong Leporello. Lorraine Hunt was very good as Donna Elvira, but Ana Gloria Vazquez (Donna Anna), brought in at the last minute, needed more polish.

Sellars's ***Don Giovanni*** is certainly a success in that it makes the audience think about the opera more than your average production at the Met. It will be interesting to see what he makes of a new opera for a change: This winter he will be directing ***Nixon in China*** at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. I'm sure everyone will have plenty to say about *that* on the bus.

The Don Giovanni myth was the central theme of PepsiCo's Summerfare festival this year, with plays, concerts, movies and multimedia events on the subject. (There are, apparently, 2,605 versions of the story—just more than twice the number of women Mozart's Don Giovanni seduced in Spain alone.) The Don reappears in ***A Feast in the Plague-Time***, a compilation of Pushkin plays and fragments adapted by the Soviet director Yuri Lyubimov for the Royal Dramatic Theatre of Sweden. In 1984 Lyubimov was dismissed from his post as artistic director of Moscow's Taganka Theatre, where he had worked for twenty years. He left the Soviet Union and now works mostly in Europe. Last winter he brought his version of ***Crime and Punishment***, which had received much acclaim in Europe, to the Arena Stage in Washington. The failure of the production was largely blamed on the actors, who would have looked bad even in a rotten high-school play. But the theatrical clichés and hackneyed

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symbolism had nothing to do with the actors or the language barrier. The same clichés run rampant in *A Feast in the Plague-Time*.

The evening opens with a group of six well-heeled friends at a banquet. They are trying to distract themselves from the misery of a raging epidemic by drinking, singing and generally fooling around. Three short Pushkin plays become part of the night's entertainment, with the friends as the actors. The fragment that begins the evening and provides the title is actually Pushkin's translation of a passage from the Scottish writer John Wilson's *The City of the Plague*, which describes the desperate revels of a group of friends in London during the Great Plague of 1665. This piece frames Pushkin's three compressed verse dramas, *Little Tragedies*, which are woven into a single epic with excerpts from *The Miserly Knight*, *The Stone Guest* (the Don Giovanni episode) and *Mozart and Salieri*. The production ends with a picture of hell, the *Scene From Faust* Pushkin published in 1828.

Nabokov (among others) has said that Pushkin is impossible to translate, so imagine hearing him in Swedish, simultaneously translated into deadpan English over earphones. Add to this the fact that Lyubimov has cut the texts of the plays and interspersed poems and letters in them, and the three hours the performance lasts become very long indeed. On the stage, there is little to look at. Lyubimov's directing style makes his actors flat, static and stiff, or turns them into caricatures. They don't even walk; they move around the stage in chairs on casters. His lighting is alternately harsh and murky, and the only colors are heavy with symbolism: black, red or white. The words are given pedantic and bombastic emphasis with snatches of music—Bach, Mozart, Gregorian chant or spaghetti western.

Lyubimov took an admirably tough stance against the Soviet bureaucrats when he was at the Taganka Theatre, and he is paying for it by having to work with foreign actors whose language he does not speak, in theaters that are not his own. But under his heavy-handed, neo-Brechtian direction, even the first-rate actors of the Royal Dramatic Theatre (including the wonderful Bibi Andersson, a star actress for Ingmar Bergman) fail to ignite the stage. □

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MUSIC.

GENE SANTORO

Mikel Rouse

The past few years have changed the audience for what is called classical music. The new crowd is younger and more adventurous in its listening than the Carnegie or Avery Fisher Hall elite, which knows what it wants—a thin wedge of the Western European canon—and gets it, because it subsidizes those venues. Hence a phenomenon like minimalism, which appeals to the younger set. Drawing on early music, African polyrhythms and additive structures from India and Indonesia, minimalism infuses them with the propulsive beats and repetitive melodic fragments familiar to jazz and pop listeners. It's no surprise that such a mix would appeal to a generation raised on classically flavored pop like the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby," the Rolling Stones' "Lady Jane," Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale" and even the harpsichord-powered incidental music of television shows such as *Secret Agent*. Besides, the overt influences of the East on 1960s jazz players and psychedelic experimenters carried a subliminal message: music is a continuum, and you can borrow sounds from anywhere.

That is at the heart of Mikel Rouse's project. A 30-year-old New York City-based composer and musician, Rouse disseminates his work by means of two groups. One, Broken Consort, takes its name from the Baroque era, when the term described an ensemble of winds and strings. Rouse's Broken Consort adds synthesizers and electric bass, for his sinewy, pulsing, politically themed minimalist writings. A smaller version of the Consort performs his jazz-inspired compositions. But Rouse also has a pop side, which Tirez Tirez, an electric rock quintet, puts over with a kinetic blend of sounds. Lou Reed and African log drums, Talking Heads and juju are among the elements coursing through that mix, while a couple of tunes sound like escapees from Broken Consort's files.

As Rouse himself points out, "I find, as I have less time to compose, that when I come up with a riff it'll be almost like a flip of a coin: Will this end up being for Tirez Tirez or Broken Consort? In *A Lincoln Portrait* [a programmatic piece based on the 'Lincoln Trilogy' paintings by Tim Steele], for example, there's a piece called 'Number One' that just comes in with a simple piano riff: I thought for sure that would be a pop tune, but in thinking about it I realized it would make a great vamp, a piano jazz vamp. It turned out to be a very successful melodic piece for Broken Consort that gives that group a breather after some of the heavier workouts."

Unlike more self-conscious attempts at synthesis, like Joe Jackson's *Will Power*, Rouse's writing doesn't attempt to imbue pop with quasi-classical gestures. Instead, he recognizes that each form has its own demands and integrity, and works with those generic conventions even as he violates them, slyly slipping elements back and forth across the divide. It's a strategy that projects a unified musical sensibility.

But Rouse's music isn't just a strategy; it's the natural outgrowth of his life. Born in St. Louis in January 1957, he studied piano (he plays keyboards in Broken Consort) for a while, and then, after his family moved to Poplar Bluff, taught himself to play guitar (which he plays in Tirez Tirez). By listening to honky-tonkers like Hank Williams he learned the intricacies of the two-minute song format. When another move brought the Rouses to Kansas City, he studied at the University of Missouri Conservatory of Music, hung out at the Charlie Parker school, heard a lot of Count Basie and held down a simultaneous major in painting and filmmaking at the Kansas City Art Institute. If his rhythmic emphases derive from

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rock and jazz, the splashes of color and kinetic energy that differentiate a Rouse piece from its minimalist relatives are probably due to his multifaceted training.

After forming Tirez Tirez in 1978 and touring the Midwest, Rouse headed for New York in 1979, where he found the downtown scene absorbed by some of the same musical and cultural questions that plagued him—in particular, the relationship between pop, jazz and classical forms. Both punk and Ornette Coleman's electro-jazz-funk seemed to have obliterated previous boundaries. What Rouse chose was a kind of parallelism: musical pursuits all of equal value and each with rigorous, if different, demands on the writer.

And so he launched Broken Consort in 1982. While Tirez Tirez melded pop styles drawn from the past twenty years with oblique instrumental lines in detailed arrangements, the Consort's energies were thrown into the amalgam called minimalism. Like *A Lincoln Portrait*, *Jade Tiger*, their first LP, was based on the jazz quartet. It mixes jazz rhythms, African-delivered percussion and echoes of Renaissance music with a minimalist sense of phrasing and organization.

Rouse himself describes what distinguishes his brand of minimalism: "A lot of the stuff I do may have a repetitive factor, but the line effect is so much longer you don't really get a feel that it's repeating—it becomes much more like a Baroque counterpoint. If you listen to Bach, there's that sense of repetition going on because there's so many eighth notes, but it's never the same thing twice when you hear it through. That's the thing that interests me: how to bring that into a twentieth-century context. Before jazz, the idea of rhythm, even in Bach, was so limited; he obviously achieved a great deal, but he still never came up with an idea of rhythm that was not uniform to the bar. From studying African music and hearing jazz, you can understand that there is another way to think about rhythm. That's what separates me from a lot of the composers I've been compared with. [Philip] Glass is much more interested in arpeggiated figures and triad chord arrangements. [Steve] Reich, on the other hand, is a very polyrhythmic writer, but he still stays pretty much within a uniform rhythm."

Politics, as well as rhythmic organization, mark all Rouse's work. Take his most recent Broken Consort release, *A Walk in the Woods*. Inspired by the abortive arms-reduction talks in Geneva, the tunes are named after war games. "The Eloquent Dissenter" draws on pre-Baroque sonorities and textures; the title track spools out a broad skein of motivic lines with colors from Reich to nursery rhymes; and the disc throughout bucks with the muscular rhythms Rouse loves to flex. Chromaticism tinges pieces like "Winter in Wyoming" with a disturbing melancholy that suggests resistance rather than resignation.

Rouse has not neglected his pop side either. After a hiatus, Tirez Tirez went back into the studio and, for the first time in years, out on the road. The band landed a contract with IRS, an independent record label, for their latest LP, *Social Responsibility*. Although the album's title and cover (a photo of a billboard, in the middle of farmland, depicting the molecular structure of PCBs) affirm Rouse's commitment to political themes, his lyrics are oblique and imagistic rather than discursive. The minimalist funk called "In Your Own Back Yard," for instance, takes that phrase and extends it to our immigration policy and to our proxy wars in Latin America. That's one of Rouse's favorite verbal tacks; some of his titles are "My Mistake," "Paper Boy," "Wake Up" and "My Problem." Not actually surrealistic, Rouse's images build on their repetitive, cumulative banality without attempting to transcend the clichés.

Mikel Rouse has come a long way from the days at the conservatory when his teachers told him: "You don't repeat any theme unless it's really good." As he puts it: "In the European tradition that makes sense, but in other styles repetition is the framework, the body, of the music, like in jazz or rock and roll. When I saw a Steve Reich piece in *Source* magazine, a light went off in my head: in 1975 in Kansas City, I was the only person doing repetitive music, which was just because I'd grown up listening to rock and roll and country, and so if I was going to do something that was instrumental it was going to come from that—no way around it. If you think about it, the way that Glass has appropriated Indian music, and the way that Reich has been very influenced by African music, one part of what they do isn't new at all. But in terms of saying, This is Western composition, and then bringing these elements into that concept, it was a pretty astounding thing. I think it strikes something in

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people that is very natural: they long for some idea of a tonal center, and repetition in music, as Joseph Schillinger [a composition theorist whose students included George Gershwin] said, is just another form of pattern-making in the universe. If you think about it that way, it breaks down all the categories of country, jazz and rock. That's the way I think about it." □

SELECTED DISCOGRAPHY

With Broken Consort

A Walk in the Woods (Club Soda)
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Set the Timer / Uptight (Sire / Warner Bros.)
Under the Door / Sleep (Crepuscule)
Story of the Year (Crepuscule)
Etudes (Object Music)

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 182*)

conference. I reported the derogatory comments about the P.L.O. (which I suspect triggered Stork's letter) to give readers an idea of how people in the palace talk. No endorsement was intended.

Addressing some of Stork's other points, I think that Hussein's thirty-plus years on the throne do attest to considerable political skill. I made no comment one way or the other about his methods, which I do find less odious than those of a good many other Middle Eastern governments. I think Stork overstates American support for Hussein. Jordan has been subject to a de facto U.S. arms embargo for a decade. I don't agree that Hussein "routinely" receives good press in the United States. For example, John Kifner's reporting in *The New York Times* on the Jordanian-Palestinian rift has been very tough on Hussein. Hussein's history of conflict with Palestinian nationalists makes him a bête noire of some writers sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. The King also gets a lot of flak from the pro-Israel camp. Neither group gives him credit for presiding over the development of a country that, while more security-conscious than many outsiders realize, is relatively prosperous, calm and less repressive than most of its neighbors. For a fuller treatment of Jordan, I refer readers to my article "Can Hussein Take Over the P.L.O.?" in the August 30, 1986, *Nation*.

Stanley Reed

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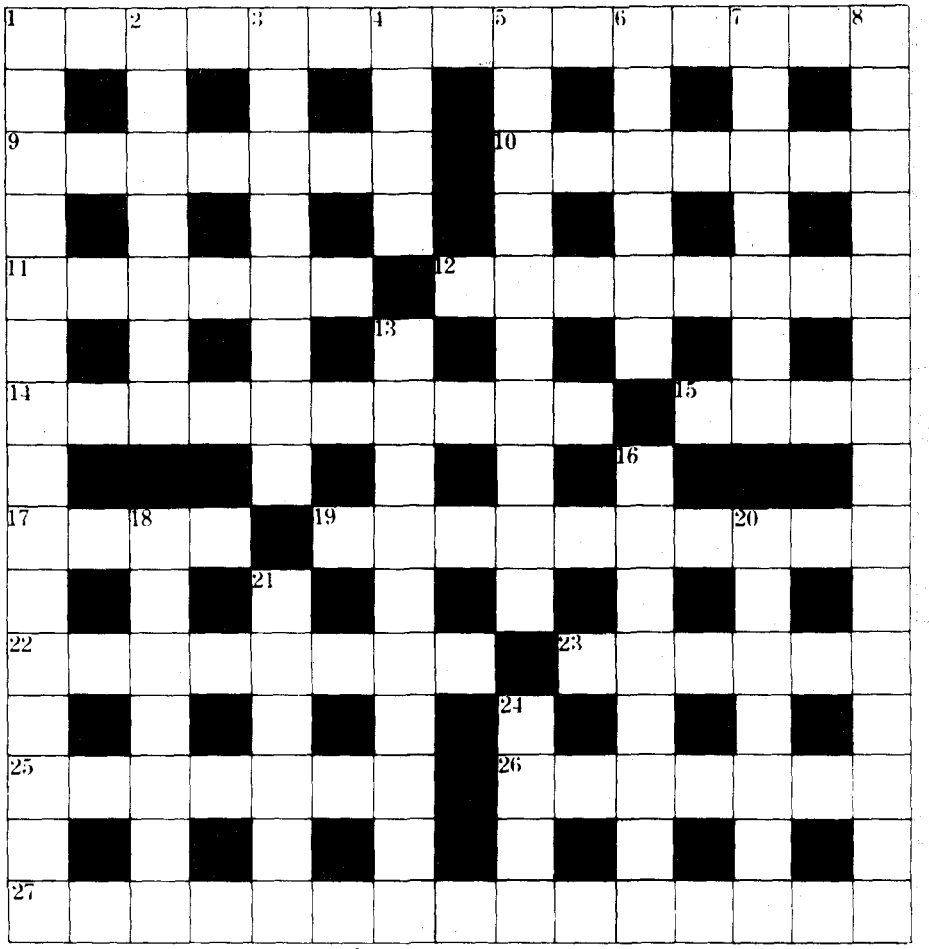

ACROSS

1 What the foolhardy sometimes get into first, and where some people look for spirit. (One of them could be warmer.) (3,5,7)
9 The type of flight Lindbergh made in bringing champignons to Paris? (7)
10 If you have such a pet, there's no point in saying "Speak!" (7)
11 The enemy's quite shaken by such agreeable people. (6)
12 An important part of disaster is known to be caused by your star, if you want to point something out. (8)
14 It used to be for the rest of the passengers, though it sounds as though it might be for the noble-born. (5,5)
15 A grand beginning for what is associated with the Taj Mahal! (4)
17 They say that's one of the things the guillotine watchers did, but the worried ones do it to 22! (4)
19 Things may be made fine if they are sort of attuned, and you have dined inside. (10)
22 You're not a believer? Lift these! (8)
23 Did it used to be a hang-out for criminals? (A big return on a venture, perhaps.) (6)
25 Indulge in high comedy, possibly. (7)
26 Could it be a strain for the mechanic? (7)
27 What a boxer might do having minor set-tos after the race—that's for the birds! (7,8)

DOWN

1 Sweetheart, what a bee does on the French flower reminds me of a song! (11,4)
2 The orchestra does with the oboe, and somehow puts a French one inside. (5,2)
3 A proverbial worker carries some things from a South American forest, probably. (3,5)
4 See what's in Monte's Python! (4)
5 One who poses for an infant picture, or just one who cares for children? (4,6)
6 What Jack's cow did to the dog? (6)
7 It sounds as though they might be tilting here in Michigan! (Given the wrong signal about one important direction?) (7)
8 After a little name-calling, this begins what sounds like a potential need for a splinter. (Adhere to building materials, otherwise?) (6,3,6)
13 Wake after this, perhaps, like a beetle? (10)
16 Part of the "aqua in terram" is more than odd! (8)
18 Let us, by the sound of it? It might be this kind, and related to "cos." (7)
20 Stab a Scotsman and you'll find something hot there! (7)
21 Verdi's in near trouble? We've heard this before! (6)
24 Musicians sometimes do before they really start playing with a captivating woman! (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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